

Nos. XLII. to XLV.]

[Aug. to Decem., 1876]

MOOKERJEE'S MAGAZINE

NEW SERIES
OF

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE,

INCLUDING CHIEFLY

History and Antiquities, Geography and Travels,
Bibliography and Oriental Literature, Jurisprudence and
Commerce, &c.

EDITED BY

SAMBHU CHANDRA MOOKERJEE.

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INDIA : PAST AND PRESENT.

I.—Origin and Development of the Brāhman Race.

THE primal abode of the Hindus has long been a disputed point with historians and orientalist; and, though modern research has thrown much additional light on the subject, it cannot be said that all the difficulties that encompassed it have yet been cleared away. Founding their theory on comparative philology and a parallelism of languages, several authors have strongly maintained that the Hindus, Persians, Celts, Latins, Greeks, Teutons, and Slaves were all originally of one race, and radiated from the highlands of Central Asia, either to people, or to furnish ruling races throughout, the earth. Others again, have as strongly opposed this belief, and designated it a stupendous error, sure to explode on a later day on more light on the inquiry being thrown, justly holding that a coincidence of words and sentences is not, in such matters, a certain and conclusive guide. One author goes even to point out that several expressions in the Chinese language agree with those in the Sanskrit used to convey similar ideas,* and yet no one

* e. g.—*Niepán* for *Nirván*.

pretends that the Chinese people are derived from the same stock with the Hindus. The disputants are thus even now fairly divided; and while one party maintains that the Hindus have descended to India from the shores of the Caspian, the other contends that India from the beginning of time has been their only home.

As peace-makers between the two parties, we are disposed to accept the conclusion arrived at by Elphinstone, after a review of the arguments urged by both, that there is no reason for thinking that the Hindus ever inhabited any country but their present one, and as little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records and traditions. The favorite theory of the hour, however, is an original Asian stock for peopling the best part of the globe; a common Aryan parentage for the Englishman and the Hindu: it is necessary therefore to explain how that theory is established. The idea is based on a fancied similitude between the Sanskrit, Persian, Scythian, Celtic, Hellenic, Gothic, and Slavonian languages, which, for that reason, are supposed to have been derived from one original language that was probably common to all the races concerned, when, at some remote period, they formed one people and lived in one common home. The statement as regards the Hindus is, that two branches of this original race, generally known as the Aryan race—namely, the Perso-Aryans and the Indo-Aryans—after having lived for a long time together, in Bactria, or some other neighbouring place, were sent adrift in opposite directions by a great war which separated them, and settled themselves on the banks of the Indus. There is nothing improbable in this supposition; it is quite possible that it was so: but it has been significantly pointed out by the opponents of the theory that there is no mention of such migration in any of the Sanskrit books—not even in the most ancient, and that their evidence on the subject by implication is altogether opposed to it. The only documentary evidence appealed to in favor of the idea is that of the Persian books, and their support is, after all, of the feeblest kind. In the

first chapter of the *Vendidad*, A'hoormuzd, or the Wise Spirit, gives an account of the creation of various countries by him, the first country named being *Airyana Veijo*, while the fifteenth is called *Haptu Hindu*, which is identified with the Punjáb. This has been very forcedly construed as describing, step by step, the diffusion of the Aryans over the earth. In point of fact it does not do so, for the text does not speak of any migrations; it simply names the countries which were known to each other at the time. Much has also been attempted to be made of the fact that the Hindus frequently allude in their books to a sacred region and the seat of the gods existing somewhere towards the mountains of the north. This doubtless is so; but it is no proof whatever of a foreign origin, for the Greeks similarly considered Olympus to be the seat of their gods, and all who looked at the *Himálayás* would naturally select them as fit abodes for their deities. Besides that, the mountains were the places of refuge at the time of the deluge, and were on that account also properly regarded by the earlier races with the greatest veneration. Another so-called proof is that both the Hindus and the Persians called themselves "Aryans." In the books of the Hindus the word *Arya*, which means "excellent," is made applicable to the people of *Aryaverta*, the country lying between the *Himálayá* and the *Vindyá* mountains. Similarly, the ancient Persians called themselves *Airya* or "honorable," a designation that was known to Herodotus. But resemblances of this sort mean nothing, as being only the results of the same tendencies of the human mind working out their natural results similarly in different places. Both the Hindus and the Persians perhaps, found themselves equally at the outset encircled by other races whom they knew less favorably, and from whom they were anxious to be distinguished; and to this end they both took to themselves a name coined for the occasion, which, from their contiguity to each other, they adopted in common. That the races were distinct may still be insisted upon from the marked

difference that existed between their characters in several respects. The Hindus, for instance, were scholars of high culture and taste from the time of our first knowledge of them ; but the Persians were never anything beyond soldiers and politicians. This wide disparity between them, which was observable from the earliest times, remained unaltered for ages. If the races were derived from the same stock when and how did the difference arise ?

A general similarity between the two races may, nevertheless, still be conceded ; but it was such only as leads to the inference that, at the earliest eras, they probably either lived as near neighbours, or corresponded with each other freely on neutral ground. The Bráhmans or *devatás* (they are still so-called in India) dwelt in *Aryaverta*, while the *asoors* or *áhoors* resided in *A'hoorya*, which may be accepted as being the same with Assyria. This would leave the intermediate countries of Persia, Media, and Bactria, as debateable-land on which they met, where each party probably maintained its outposts, and where they largely intermixed until their final separation. The age when all this happened is too remote to be precisely determined, or anything in connection with it to be authoritatively affirmed. Pictet assumes that the era of Aryan civilisation commenced at not less than B. C. 3000, which carries the date some centuries anterior to the flood. At this time all races of men on the earth—or, at all events, all races living near each other—would naturally be united by a general bond of similarity of manners and languages, a common stock of beliefs and traditions, and a sentiment of natural brotherhood ; and perhaps this was all the affinity that really existed between the Hindus and the Persians. What was common was necessarily similar in both ; but what was not common differed in the widest degree.

Having agreed however to Elphinstone's decision we are not averse to accept the current belief that the Hindus did come to India from Central Asia, probably by the passes of Afghánistán and Cáshmere, either as conquerors, or as fugitives, or as both. The acceptance

of this theory necessarily implies that of another, namely, that in their original country they were disturbed by some great schism, which parted them for good from the other branches of their race. The *Satapatha Bráhmaṇa* says that the gods and the *asoors* were both descended from *Prajápati*, and contended with each other, because the *asoors* having constructed cities of gold, silver, and iron, the gods became envious, and rose up against the *asoors*, and smote their cities and conquered the world. Another version of the story in the same *Bráhmaṇa* tells us that the gods were worsted at first, and the *asoors*, thinking that the world was theirs only, commenced to divide it among themselves, when the gods, with Vishnu at their head, proceeded to claim a share. The *asoors* grudgingly assented to give as much only as Vishnu, who was a dwarf, could lie upon, whereupon Vishnu, under a sacrifice, expanded all over the earth. This latter version is that repeated by the Pouránic story of Vishnu and Bali. All the stories agree in recording a forcible partition which caused the first war in the world, which may be called the A'hoor war; an historical event of as great importance almost as the deluge itself. It was known to all the ancient nations as the war between the gods and the giants. We are accustomed to the frequent complaint that there is no vestige of history in India; and yet our only accounts of the oldest generations of men and of the first great war waged between them are those to be obtained from the Veds and the Zendávestá, unfortunately however to be gleaned only by deduction and inference.

The Sibylline leaves say that the Titanian war commenced in the tenth generation after the deluge, that it lasted for ten years, and that it was the first war in which mankind were engaged. The dates thus fixed cannot, however, be accurate, as the accounts gleanable from the Hindu Shástras and the Zendávestá go much further back than the tenth generation after the deluge to commence with. In the *Matsya Purán*, Menu or Satyavratá speaks to Janárdhan, recognised in the fish-

form assumed by him, as the "slayer of the *asoors*," and, as the fish preserved Satyavratá from destruction by the flood, the inference is clear that the flood was, in the days of the *Matsya Purán*, regarded as having occurred after the A'hoor war. The commencement of the war has been estimated by scholars generally at about B. C. 2400, and it was fought out almost entirely in Persia, a country not materially affected by the flood. The fag end of the struggle only corresponds with the first dawn of history, namely, the days of Ninus and Semiramis, of which the accounts are so hazy. The annals of Assyria record that Ninus collected a large army of *áhoors*, and attacked the Bráhmán out-posts in Bactria, and that the Bráhmans, after having made a spirited resistance, were eventually defeated, mainly in consequence of the courage and genius of Semiramis. The *áhoor* lady subsequently became queen-regent of the giants, and, pursuing her former policy, pressed the war to the home of the *devatás*, their out-posts in Bactria having been intermediately abandoned. This was the great war fought between Semiramis and Sthábarpati, or Stabrobates, in which three and a half millions of *áhoors* are said to have been pitted against nearly four millions of the *devatás*. All accounts mention that the *devatás* were successful and the *áhoors* beaten back, though it does not appear that any attempt was made by the former after their victory to reoccupy Bactria, as nothing beyond desultory raids in that direction are subsequently spoken of.

The quotation given from the *Satapatha Bráhmaṇa* does not indicate that the A'hoor war was a religious war; but a comparison of the Veds with the Zendávestá clearly indicates that it was so. That the religions of the *áhoors* and the Bráhmans were not dissimilar at the outset is to be gathered from the facts that they both worshipped some gods in common, as, for instance, Varuna and A'hoormuzd, whose characters agreed, and Mitra and Mithra who agreed in name; that many important ceremonies, as laid down in both, were virtually the same; and that the *Soma* of the one and the *Haoma* of the other were both religious drinks, and in both religion

the name of a god. The subsequent rupture between them is, similarly, to be inferred from the degradation of some gods by one party who were highly revered by the other, and by the billingsgate exchanged between them even in the adoption of names. The *devas* were gods according to the Hindus, but the *daevas* (dives) were evil-spirits to the Persians; Yima was a fortunate monarch according to the latter, but the former regarded Yama as king of the dead; Indra was king of heaven according to the Veds, but the Zendávestá declared Andra to be a fallen angel; A'ryaman was the Hindu regent of light, while Ahriman was the Satan of the other side; Siva was a Vedic god, though not of much importance, but Sarva of the Persians was a wicked spirit. The differences were so markedly antagonistic that they cannot but be attributed to an open breach between the two factions. The Veds go so far as to call the *asoors* thieves and robbers, and the Zendávestá retaliates by calling the *daeves* drunkards. The quarrel was apparently implacable on both sides; and the two races after their separation sat down to record that implacability in their respective codes of religion, the Veds being the records on one side, and the Zendávestá on the other.

The Bráhmans then, are the *devatás* of the Veds and the *dives* of the Zendávestá, who, after their separation from the other Aryans, went through their own special development on the banks of the Indus. The country first occupied by them was called *Sapta Sindhava*, or the land of the seven rivers, which was identical with the *Haptu Hindu* of the *Vendidad*. Here, they had on the one side of them the advance-guard of the *áhoors*, who occupied Persia, and on the other the *dasyas*, the aborigines of India, constant fighting with both of whom had for a long time to be maintained. Hence, in the Sanskrit, the A'hoor war is frequently confounded with the wars with the *dasyas*; and both the *áhoors* and the *dasyas* are promiscuously designated evil-spirits and spirits of darkness. That the Bráhmans several times invaded the countries to their west is clearly traceable from the Veds;

and it may further be inferred from them that these invasions were, for the most part, unsuccessful, though some great victories are especially noted, *e. g.*, that obtained by Deva Dása, a vassal *dasya*, as his name implies. The final result was that the *devatá* population of Persia, Media, and Bactria were obliged to congregate in the Punjáb, and then push eastward and southward to displace the *dasyas*. The total number of the Hindu deities is usually given at 330 millions. By this is probably meant the entire *devatá* population (much exaggerated of course) that poured into India after the wars of Ninus and Semiramis, all of whom being *devatás* by race became in time gods of the country into which they crowded, and who, remembering their quarrel with the *áhoors*, ignored their connection with them, and upheld their identity with the Bráhmans settled in *Sapta Sindhava* from an earlier date. This explains why the Shástras do not refer to a prior residence of the Bráhmans in any other country besides India. It at the same time justifies the new theory that the Bráhmans came to India from the west, for of course a great portion of them did so when the out-posts in Media, Bactria, and Persia, were withdrawn. The diffusion of the race throughout India after this was gradual but steady, and is traceable, step by step, in the Shástras. The first move was from the Indus to the Seraswati, a river now lost in the sands; and this accounts for the tract lying between the Cággar (Drishádwati) and the Seraswati being named by Menu *Brahmáverta*, or frequented by the gods. This, as the first land occupied by the *devatás* after their disruption with the nations of the west, had the highest degree of sanctity attached to it; and, also, probably because it was the place where the Bráhmanical institutions were matured. A wider space is called *Brahmárshi* in the Institutes, and comprehended nearly the whole country generally known as Hindustán Proper, over which the progressive spirit of the race was next extended. Still further expansion is implied by the term *Aryaverta* being applied to all the territory lying between the Himálayá and Vindiyá mountains; and, in accordance with

this text and that cited before it, we actually find that, by the age of the Rámáyana, the banks of the Jumná and the Ganges were fully occupied, and by the age of the Mahábhárut both Anga and Banga, up to the banks of the Brahmapootra. From the time of Semiramis to that of the Mahábhárut the interval comprises a period of about six hundred years, and within this era all the country from the Indus to the Brahmapootra appears to have been fully Bráhmaṇized. But even this field was insufficient to accommodate conveniently the 330 millions of *devatás* and their descendants for whom room had in time to be made, and so it was advisedly laid down by Menu that every place where the antelope grazes in natural freedom is fit for sacrifice, that is, that the whole peninsula, down to Cape Comorin, was worthy of being occupied; and we actually find that, long before Alexander's invasion, the civilization of the Bráhmaṇs had traversed the entire length of the peninsula and crossed over to Ceylon.

It is clear at the sametime, however, that all the places named were fully peopled by the indigenous races of India before the Bráhmaṇs from the Punjáb went forward to subdue them, for in the Rig Ved iron cities and fortifications are mentioned as having belonged to the *dasyas*; and we also read that Indra demolished a hundred cities of stone in fighting on behalf of Deva Dása, the liberal *dasya* to whom we have alluded. We usually receive all these narrations as poetical fables; but it may be that they contain an undercurrent of historical truth which only requires a little careful handling to be clearly developed. The regular emigration of mankind by divine appointment does not appear to have ever reached India, which was peopled indigenously, as all countries of the world probably were, at the outset. One race in it, the Bráhmaṇs, who originally occupied the Punjáb—possibly by immigration—was afterwards enormously expanded by accession of extraneous reinforcement as well as by natural multiplication, and came in time to spread throughout the whole peninsula; from the Himálayás to Ceylon, trampling over the rights of

the indigenous races, and levelling their cities and fortifications with the dust ; and the changes thus introduced, fully explain the entire enigma of Bráhmaism, Buddhism, and Caste. What the Norman was to the Saxon that was the Aryan Bráhma to the *dasya*. For a long time, with the conqueror's usual pride, the Bráhmans designated the *dasys* monkeys, bears, and *rákshases*, though there is no doubt that they borrowed much of their civilisation from at least some of the races they traduced. But, as the fusion of the Normans and the Saxons eventually created the English race, even so the fusion of the Bráhmans and the *dasys* formed the Pouránic Hindus, after they had travelled through the phases distinguished by the names of Vedism, Buddhism, and so forth. All the systems and institutions over which we stumble in wading through the ancient records of the country seem to have been mere religious and civil transitions called forth by the natural development of the Bráhma race and the convulsions it gave rise to. The intermixture of the Bráhmans with the conquered races was necessarily gradual, and created new creeds and new aspirations at every step, which not only altered their own character, but also that of their books and teachings. The Veds are not all equally old, and do not all uphold the same system of religion. The reason is obvious ; they underwent the same changes that the Bráhma character passed through : and this progression, drawn out to later times, accounts fully for the many civil and social revolutions we read of.

H.—Vedism ; its different phases.

THE most important question which demands solution at the outset is—"What was the religion of the Bráhmans before the A'hoor war?" This can scarcely be answered correctly even from the Veds. It is only to be determined by inference, and an examination of what we find in the Veds and what we do not find in them. The Veda are four in number ; but one bears an equivocal character. The old Hindu writers always speak of the three Veds, namely, the *Rig*, *Yajur*, and *Sám* Veds. The *Atharvân* was first raised to an equal rank with them by the *Puráns*; which then proceeded to speak of themselves and the *Itiháses* as a fifth Ved. Of the first three, the *Sám* Ved has been found to be nothing more than a recast of the *Rig* Ved, though containing some verses which cannot be found in the latter, and the *Yajur* Ved to be only a collection of sacrificial formulas, both in prose and verse. It follows therefore, that both the *Yajur* and the *Sám* Veds were composed after the *Rig* Ved, and that the latter constituted the original Ved, and furnishes the most primitive representation of Hinduism. Shall we say that the religion of the *Rig* Ved was the religion of the Bráhmans before the A'hoor war?

But every portion of a Ved is not equally old: Each Ved is divided into two parts, namely, the *Sanhitas* and the *Bráhmanas*. The word *Sanhita* means a "collection," and the *Sanhitas* of the Veds accordingly comprise all the hymns, prayers, and invocations uttered in praise of the gods celebrated in them ; while the *Bráhmanas*, which form the general head of divinity, include regulations to explain the ceremonies, rites, and forms of religion, and have appended to them theological treatises, called *Aranyakás* and *Upanishads*, which record the speculations and spiritual aspirations of the devout. The original Veds, therefore, are the *Sanhitas*; out of which the *Bráhmanas* and the *Upanishads* were derived ; and of these the most ancient were of course the *Sanhitas* of the *Rig* Ved, since that Ved was anterior to the others. Was the religion of the ante-áhoor-war-period then, identical with that of the hymns of the *Rig* Ved?

The Vedic hymns are not all the products of one single age, and in their own selves bear evidence of different stages of development, the oldest being almost childlike in their simplicity, while the later compositions contain intellectual and spiritual yearnings of a higher character. The Vedic age has accordingly, for convenience of reference, been divided into four distinct periods namely, (1) the *Ch'handa*, the era of the oldest hymns of the *Rig Ved* ; (2) the *Mantra*, the era of the later hymns ; (3) the *Bráhmaṇa*, when rituals and abstract theology were foisted into the religious code and the Upanishads were written ; and (4) the *Sutra*, which introduced the *Smṛiti* period, when the Shástras commenced to be written, as distinguished from those promulgated during the three earlier eras, all of which were *Sruti*, or uttered by God. The oldest of these periods scarcely goes back to the commencement of the A'hoor war, though it is possible that some of the earliest and simplest hymns of the *Rig Ved* may have existed at that time. Of that, however, we have no proof. Even if we had, the question as regards the religion of the Hindus before that period would still remain unanswered.

Our own belief is that all the old religions of the earth started with the idea of God to begin with, which was spontaneously caught by those who were nearest to God in point of time ; but that, the mind being then profoundly ignorant, the truth was not grasped with sufficient firmness to be long retained. On this supposition we conclude that the original religion of the Hindus was a monotheism of natural growth, which eventually dwindled down to a childlike playing with the divine attributes as manifested in nature, which we find to have been the religion of the oldest hymns. Between the age of the hymns and the creation of the race a wide chasm must have intervened, during which the A'hoor wars were fought, caused probably by the very defection from the First Cause, the belief in whom has been assumed. Some traces of this monotheism may, we think, be read in the *Rig Ved*, though they are undoubtedly of a very vague and rudimentary character. There is also, some-

thing like regret observable in several places for the loss of the great idea, accompanied as it were by a straining effort to regain it. In support of this belief we would particularly draw attention to the hymn in the *Rig Ved* translated by Max-Müller, which harps so sweetly and persistently on the question—"Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifices?" and also to that other prayer every stanza of which concludes with the line—"Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!" There is nothing purer or more beautiful than either of them in the Psalms of David, and no one who has read them can have failed to perceive the idea of one Supreme God echoed, as it were, in both, which leaves behind the impression that it was yet better known to the race at some anterior period of their existence. The general drift of the *Sanhitas* however, is towards the worship of the great objects of external nature; against which probably the Perso-Aryans protested, which caused the separation and the wars. There is no doubt that the religion of the ancient Persians retained more of the spiritual element than the *Veds*, even though it did not altogether discard nature-worship. The traditions of an earlier age when God was all in all also to the Hindus, were common in the olden times. The *Rámáyana*, referring to them, says that in that age "there were no gods, *dánavas*, *gandharvas*, and *rákshases*; no buying or selling. The *Veds* were not classed; no *Sáman*, *Rig*, or *Yajur*. There was righteousness all over the world; no disease, no decline of organs from old age; no malice, weeping, pride, or deceit; and no contentions." The age of wars and contentions followed, and after that the age of the *Mantras*, if not that of the *Ch'handas* also. The later *Mantras* are supposed to have been composed at sometime between B.C. 2000 and 1400, and the *Bráhmaṇas* at between B.C. 1400 and 1200. At this latter date the misunderstanding of the old faith was so complete that the *Bráhmaṇas* do not seem even to understand the hymns which they profess to elucidate. A wider estrangement from, a more complete rupture with, the older Aryan faith was the necessary consequence.

Monotheism then, may be taken as the starting point of Aryan history. The Perso-Aryans adhered to it, while the Hindus, after playing with it in diverse ways, threw it overboard.

The first phase of the Hindu religion, that is, of the religion adopted by the Bráhmans after their separation from the *Assoors*, is what we find in the *Rig Ved*. It would not be right to call this belief monotheistic, for the original idea, with which the race started, had already become clouded by a delirium of fervency and poetry which appealed, not to the One God, but to the powers of nature personified. There is hardly any manifestation of nature that was not worshipped by the *rishis*. The sky, the dawn, the sun, the clouds forever-changing, the rain, the storm, water, food, wine, and fire, all these were incomprehensible forces to the simple-minded and received laudation on reverent knee. These elements in India are always to be seen in their most sublime and terror-inspiring attitudes; and in an impulsive age they were the only powers invoked. Professor Wilson expressly says, that it is doubtful if the authors of the hymns entertained any belief in a Creator or Ruler of the universe. We give them full credit for the exalted ideas, feelings, and aspirations expressed by them; but it would not be true to assert that their worship ever rose—except in a very undistinguishable form—above the worship of the great objects by which they were surrounded. The deities principally invoked were Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, &c., for the plain reason that the *rishis*, were mainly husbandmen, much dependent on the favor of rain, warmth, and fresh breezes for successful cultivation. The first form of worship was apparently confined to the adoration of the elements only; but to this was soon added that of the stars and planets, which raised the sun—as chief of the heavenly host—to the significant position indicated by the *Gáyatri* still repeated by the Bráhmans: “Om! Earth! Sky! Heavens! We meditate on the adorable light of that divine ruler, the Sun; may it direct our intellects!” They raised no temples, nor made unto themselves

graven images in those days, to represent any of these powers ; we find each of them addressed by turns as the Supreme Ruler, Agni being called "the ruler of the universe," Indra "the strongest of all," Surjya "the divine ruler," and Soma "he that conquers every one;" and there was no competition between them as existed between the gods of a later age. But we search in vain for any direct reference to the One God, who had been previously worshipped, or even to a God superior to the rest; and in sheer despair we are content to accept the interpretation of Yaska that all the numerous names to which adoration was offered were resolvable into the different titles of Agni, whose place was on the earth, Váyu or Indra, whose place was in the air, and Surjya, whose place was in the heavens; and that those three names again were resolvable into that of God: "That which is one," says the *Rig Ved*, "the wise call it many;" and, similarly, Yaska observes—"Owing to the greatness of the Deity one soul is celebrated by the *rishis* as if it were many." But this is only a forced explanation; and, besides that, the mere admission of a superior god is not Monotheism.

The great deities of the Ch'handa and Mantra periods were Indra and Varuna, and, after them, Agni and Surjya. Indra was the lord of the firmament, Varuna of space, Agni of fire, and Surjya of the sun. The hymns addressed to them are all of the simplest kind; and they overflow with the most endearing and reverential affection. There is no poetry simpler or more fervent than that to be found in the Veds. No attempt at display is made in them. They are merely genuine outpourings of the heart, expressed in such words as came up to the lips of themselves; the divinities applied to being addressed as living existences, to whom each father of a family offered his adoration. The head of each family was the priest in his own house; he kindled the sacred fire with his own hands; praised the gods or solicited their aid or forbearance; offered them choice articles of food, such as barley, milk, butter, and the *soma* juice, through the medium of fire; and prayed

for the destruction of his sins and for immortality as the recompense of his devotion. But he prayed not to the One God without a second, whom he had ceased to remember; something that represented that One God to his visual organ, was the object to which he appealed.

The *rishis* worshipped the objects of nature as living existences, offered their own sacrifices and devotions to them, and performed their own domestic rites. This was the first, or patriarchal development of the Vedic faith. Their descendants, in course of time, came in contact with other races, and naturally claimed superiority over them. The original usages of the Vedic era had therefore, in their age, to be considerably altered and modified. The changes which came thus to be introduced are fully explained by the Vedic divisions of *Sanhitas*, *Bráhmaṇas*, and *Upanishads*. The first additions to the old lyrical songs, which represented the patriarchal era, were the dogmatical ritual commentaries called the *Bráhmaṇas*, by which the householder was made to resign his place of privilege to the *Purohit* especially selected to chant the sacred hymns. The geographical development of the race having widened, the worship of the gods was made to assume a greater significance to mark the separation of the *devatás* from the aborigines. This could only be effected by the introduction of rituals and fixed sacrifices, and they were unhesitatingly put in, together with a multitude of details that necessitated the creation of a sacerdotal class. The word "*Bráhmaṇa*" simply signifies "prayer"; and those were now so named who occupied themselves exclusively in prayers. In the patriarchal period every householder prayed on behalf of himself and his family, and was a *Bráhmaṇa*. But the wider development that followed made the work too tedious for the householder to discharge. The *devatás* therefore, who still occupied themselves in this way, continued to be called *Bráhmaṇas*, while other duties and other distinguishing epithets were assigned to the rest of the race, and to the other classes which were simultaneously created. The collective doctrine of sacrifices was also, for its ritual connection with prayers, called the *Bráhmaṇas* of the *Veds*.

Besides these, other changes were introduced by the additions made intermediately to the *Sanhitas*, or collections of hymns and prayers. All the hymns were not equally old ; several centuries intervened between the oldest and the latest ; and considerable were the modifications effected in religious beliefs and ideas by the additions thus made. The oldest of the Vedic gods were Mitra and Varuna, both of whom were also worshipped by the ancient Persians. Indra superseded Mitra in India apparently after the termination of the A'hoor war, for he is only mentioned as conquering the *dasyas*, not the A'hoors. "Thou didst subdue the *dasyas*, and gave the people to the Arya ;" "thou hast subjected all the distracted *dasya* peoples to the Arya ;" such is the burden of all the hymns addressed to him : and what is true of Indra is also true of other gods. The deposition or supersession of deities is one of the principal features of the religious transitions in India. It was most prominent during the Pouranic era, but was far from being unusual in the Vedic age. It clearly marks different stages in the progress of the same people, and paved the way for the convulsions which were caused by Buddhism and the philosophers.

The Vedic gods were altogether thirty-three in number ; and the *Satapatha Bráhmna* explains that they comprised eight Vásus, eleven Rudras, twelve A'dityas, and the Heaven and the Earth, otherwise called Dyaus and Prithivi. Apart from these were counted the Aswinis and the Máruts ; and texts are not wanting which increased the number yet further. The word "Bruhmu" occurs once only in the earlier portion of the *Rig Ved*, as a name of Indra. The names of Vishnu and Rudra are more frequently repeated ; but they figured generally as unimportant divinities. Umá was known as Ambiká, an insignificant deity. The position of Lakshmi was yet more indefinite, the *Atharvân Ved* pronouncing her to be an unholy deity, or rather, that there were a plurality of Lakshmis, of whom some were good and some bad ; and the two greatest elements of later Hinduism—the *Trimurti* and the *Lingam*—were

altogether unknown. A triad of Agni, Váyu, and Surjya was recognised, but no *Trimurti*. The *rishis* praised and exalted the powers of nature as conscious and volitional agents, but gave them no outward form; nor did they acquire any till the age of the Puráns. The *rishis* in worshipping them did not even acknowledge their own inferiority to them. They believed themselves to be independent of the gods, and gifted with an inherent capacity of raising themselves to an equality in power with them, or even to a superiority over them, which Indra achieved; and this we may receive as a distinct assurance that, subsequent to the earliest period, men (ancestors) began to be deified by the Bráhmans along with the powers of nature, which in time helped the Puráns to create the huge fabric they set up. All creatures came from Prajápati, including the gods. The gods and the *asours* were originally on a footing of equality. Their derivation in fact was almost, though not precisely, the same—the gods being the children of A/diti, the primeval mother, and the *asours* of Diti, her rival in beauty and worth. The gods became superior only from continence and austerities; and there was nothing to hinder men from raising themselves in the same way to an equality of rank with them.

This was the mythological phase of Vedism; but there is a better one to notice, namely, the last. The simple poetry of the Ch'handa and Mantra periods was substituted by the legends of the Bráhmaṇa period after an interval of about eight hundred or a thousand years, when the hymn-singers dwindled down to sacrifice-celebrants. But this did not satisfy the longings of the human mind; it rather gave birth to a revulsion of feelings—a strenuous effort to go back to the First Cause. The deep truth latent in all religions was now again sedulously sought for, and traced. The name of Bruhmu is referred to in the *Sám Veda* as a “beautiful glory,” to which everything that is brightest and everything that is deepest belongs. It is more mystically alluded to in all the four Veds in the following words. res-

pectively: "This is Bruhmu," "I am Bruhmu," "That art thou," "The soul is Bruhmu." The *White Yajur Vēd* goes further, and explicitly declares him to be: "the god who pervades all regions," "the first-born," "in whom this world is absorbed," and "to whom all creatures owe their being." Besides these texts there is the celebrated hymn in the *Rig Vēd* upon which the *Vedānta* is based: "Then there was on entity nor nonentity; no world, nor sky, nor aught above it; nothing anywhere, in the happiness of any one involving or involved. Death was not, nor then was immortality. But *That* (interpreted to mean the Supreme Being) breathed without afflation, single with *Svad'dha*—her who is sustained within him. Other than him nothing existed. Darkness there was, the universe was enveloped in darkness and was undistinguishable like waters, &c." The idea which these passages suggested was now recalled with alacrity; and was worked upon till it became the basis of the *Upanishads*.

The return to the original idea of God may be dated from this period, the age of the *Upanishads*. But the "beautiful glory," as the *Sām Vēd* calls it, was unfortunately enveloped in deep speculation, bordering on mysticism; the efforts to regain the lost faith got entangled in the mazes of a misdirected philosophy. The absolute of the *Upanishads* is the neuter Bruhmu—the root of all creatures, their resting place, their foundation, and all that; but still a being who is represented in the *Upanishads* themselves to be "like one asleep." The *Upanishads* are ordinarily counted as fifty in number; and the *Vedantists* assign peculiar respect to them, as being the last and therefore the most matured expression of faith of the Vedic age. They are perhaps, the only parts of the *Vēds* now read. But the faith they propound as scarcely more satisfying than that of the *Sanhitas*. The fervent simplicity of the hymns was given up for a speculative theism which did not come within the grasp of consciousness; the sublimest conceptions of the Deity were disfigured by being

commingled with the abstrusest dogmas of metaphysics. No phase of the Vedic faith therefore, supplied what the human heart stood in need of—a provident and sympathetic ruler of the universe.

The morality of the Veds is more undeniable than their theism. Even the hymns of Ch'handa period, if they are childish, are not impure. Notwithstanding the designation of *Sruti* applied to them, the *rishis* distinctly claim their authorship, and—David-like—apply to the gods addressed for a variety of temporal blessings—such as strength, long-life, offspring, riches, cattle, food, rain, and victory; but they also pray for enlightenment of their minds, forgiveness of their offences, and admission into paradise. The references to a future and immortal life are very distinct. “Place me, O Purified! in that imperishable and unchangeable world where perpetual light and glory are found. Make me immortal where king Yama dwells, where the sanctuary of the sky exists, where the great waters flow.” This, it appears to us, was a very exalted aspiration for the age in which it was expressed. We observe, in passing, that the fondness for water is frequently repeated, and that water, or *Āppa*, is, as the primitive element, identified with God, or *Nārāyana*, which would seem to indicate that the Hindus did not emigrate from a colder climate than India. Unfortunately, we at the sametime find a fondness expressed for strong drink, which strengthens the argument on the opposite side to the same extent. “We have drunk the Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light. What can an enemy now do to us?” *Surā-pānam* is also spoken of besides *Somā-pānam*, that is, dram-drinking as distinguished from wine-drinking; and in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a son of *Tvashtri* is represented as having three mouths, one of which was *Soma-drinker*, another *Surā-drinker*, and a third the consumer of other things; two inlets for wine and spirits, against one for all other articles of food! But, for all that, we need not conclude that the ancient Hindus were vicious to the extent that their partiality for strong drink would indicate. The juice

of the *Soma* plant apart, the other religious offerings were all extremely innocent; and it may be safely concluded that the ordinary food of the Bráhmans was no richer in that age than it is at present. They called themselves *Arya*, or respectable, and were so in every sense of the word, the fathers of families living the life of *rishis*, or penitents. As an exceptional case only we read in the *Rig Veda* of Yama holding a dialogue with his twin-sister Yamuna for the purpose of seducing her; but we read there also that she rejected his solicitations with indignant expostulation. The morality of the *Shástrás* must have been yet further improved in the age of the *Upanishads*, which enjoined constant meditation on Bruhmu and the extinction of all consciousness of outward things as the only means for securing salvation. The control of the appetites and passions was necessarily implied, and for it the meditation of the divine nature was expressly prescribed. The ethics of Vedism therefore, appears at all times to have been unimpeachable, however much its idea of the god-head might have been defective.

III.—Buddhism; old and later.

THE first resolute protest against the nature-worship of the Veds was that of Buddhism, which originated with the philosophers, as its very name—the religion of intelligence—implies. The intellectual portion of the Hindus revolted early against the principles of faith inculcated by the Vedic hymns, and did not hesitate to repudiate them. It is not, as has been generally held, that Buddhism warred against Mythology only, and rejected it. Buddhism went much further, for it warred against Vedism in its integrity, and ignored it.

The age of Buddhism has not yet been precisely ascertained; but it is not correct to say that it commenced with Sakya Muni, in the sixth century before Christ. The religion promulgated by Sakya has now existed for two thousand and five hundred years, but

the older phases of the faith were at least a thousand years more ancient, or perhaps earlier still, though the roots then lay hid under ground, and the heresy was yet a sapling. The question—"Which is more ancient, Vedism or Buddhism?" has been raised and discussed; but it may be admitted that it does not really arise, for there is no doubt that the first religion of India was the worship of nature and the elements. There is as little doubt however, that Buddhism was almost coeval with that worship, which in the very first ages the philosophers refused to accept; and it is more than probable that the heresy was inaugurated by Boodh, or Buddha, the son of Soma and grandson of Atri, that is, with the very commencement of the lunar race. In the home of the Bráhmans there were renegades and *áhoors* who had managed to enter India along with their adversaries, and we actually read in later accounts of resident *asoors*, such as Rávana, Sisupála, Jarásandhá, Bānasur, and others. What so natural then, but that these should combine to set up their own religion among themselves in the heart of the enemy's camp? This would make Buddhism at once a philosophical, religious, and political protest against Vedism; and this it doubtless was from the commencement. The invasions of the Scythic races, if distinct from those of the Aryans, might also account for its introduction; and from a historical point of view it does seem as if the original Buddha and Oghuz Khán were the same. The precise date of neither can, however, now be given; but the *Padma Purán* contains a passage which clearly affirms that Buddhism was older than Vedantism, that is, anterior to the era of the *Aranyakás* and *Upanishads*. Says Mahádeva to Párvati: "Listen, goddess, while I declare to you the works of darkness. The Saiva system was declared by myself. The Vaiseshika, Nyaya, and Sāṅkhya systems were declared by sages penetrated by my power. The Mimáṃsá was composed by Jaimini, on atheistic principles; so too the abominable Charváká doctrine was declared by Vrihaspati; while Vishnu, in the form of Buddha, promulgated the false system of

Buddhism, to effect the destruction of the *daityas*. Myself, oh goddess ! then uttered in the Kali Yug the false doctrines of the Vedānta." This quite supports the view we have taken that some of the *asoors* or *daityas* did settle in India, and in doing so brought with them the germs of that religion which was afterwards expanded all over the eastern world, from Kamschatka to Ceylon.

The account which the Buddhas give of their faith is not unaccordant with the theory above explained. "In the beginning, when all was perfect void and the firmaments were not, then A'di Buddha, the stainless, was revealed in flame." "He in whom are the three *gunas*, who is the *Mahāmūrti* and the *Viśvarūpa*, became manifest; the self-existent great Buddha, the A'dināth, the Maheshwara." "He is the cause of all existence in the three worlds, and the cause of their well-being. From his profound meditation was the universe produced." "He is self-existent, the Iswara, the sum of perfection, the infinite; void of members and passions. All things are types of him, but he has no type; he is the form of all things, and yet formless himself." "He is the essence of all essences; the sum of all perfections; infinite, eternal, and without members or passions." "What tongue can utter thy praise, thou of whose being there is no cause but thy own will?"

Their Godhead thus defined, the Buddhas affirm that, besides this A'di-Buddha, there are five *Dhyāni* or celestial Buddhas, who were brought into existence by the desire of A'di-Buddha, and who in their turn called forth five others, the *Buddhi-Swatas*, or the sons of the Buddhas, by whom the universe was created. But the design of Buddhism was not to teach cosmogony, and hence the *Mānushi* or human Buddhas, who were called forth to develop the religion, come at once to the foreground. "A'di-Buddha was never seen; he is merely light." The *Dhyāni* Buddhas and the *Buddha-Swatas* are like him; they created the universe, but, that done, have remained quiescent ever since; and hence it devolved on the *Mānushi* Buddhas to undertake

the instruction of mankind. The commencement of this series of instructors is very ancient, as several of them are said to have lived in the *Satya Yug*, the first or golden age. Their number is variously given from seven to thirty; but most authorities set it down at twenty-five, and give the names as follows: (1) Dipánkara, (2) Kondona, (3) Mangala, (4) Sumana, (5) Revata, (6) Sabhita, (7) Anomadarsi, (8) Padama, (9) Nárada, (10) Padamattara, (11) Sumeda, (12) Sujata, (13) Priyadarsi, (14) Atthadarsi, (15) Dharmadarsi, (16) Sid'dhártha, (17) Tissoo, (18) Phussoo, (19) Wopassi, (20) Sikhi, (21) Wessabhu, (22) Kakusanda, (23) Konajana, (24) Kasyápa, and (25) Sakya. The identity of these names with those of sages mentioned in the Bráhmaṇ records cannot be established in every case; but it may perhaps be taken for granted that the first, Dipánkara, which means "light-maker" was the same with Boodh, the son of the "Moon," from whom the commencement of Buddhism may be dated. The wars between the solar and lunar races were probably the very first wars waged between the Bráhmans and the Buddhas, and the first overthrow of Buddhism seems to have been signalled by the triumphs of Parusrám and Rámchandra. The religion was revived in the age of the Mahábhárat, simultaneously by Jarásandhá at Magadha, Káṅsa at Mathoorá, and Naraka at Banga, with all of whom Kríṣṇa fought in vindication of the Bráhmaṇ cause till they were overthrown. Nay, it is doubtful if even the sanguinary war of the Mahábhárat was not a war between the Bráhmans and the Buddhists, the former being represented by Kríṣṇa and the latter by Duryodhon, though Buddhism did not die out a second time till the time of Ripoonjaya of Magadha, in B. C. 900. It was next revived by Sakya in B. C. 588, after which it fluctuated till the time of Viṇḍusara and Asoka, the last of whom placed it on its firmest basis.

If the Bráhmans did not understand chronology the Buddhists did so still less, and hence the history of their faith cannot be very precisely traced, nor even its landmarks determined. There is no doubt however,

that it existed long before the era of Sakya ; and if any evidence of this were wanted that of Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, is conclusive. He says that, when he visited India, he found one sect in it which acknowledged the Buddhas anterior to Sakya, but rejected him ; and all over India, though writers differ as to the number of Buddhas who preceded Sakya, no one maintains that there were none. The Buddhists affirm that all these Buddhas taught the same doctrines which Sakya, or the Buddha *par. excellence*, was the first to record and widely promulgate. They did not originate the doctrines, for, like the *Sruti* of the Bráhmans, they were all uttered by A'di-Buddha, or God. The *Mánushi* Buddhas merely passed them on, one from another, till Sakya "reduced the words to order" ; so that he acted towards them simply as Vyasa did towards the Veds, brought together and recorded what had been floating about from mouth to mouth for ages. The Veds were classified and recorded in the fourteenth or fifteenth century before Christ ; but Buddhism was only orally known in that age. It was nevertheless, known very extensively, for philosopher after philosopher had maintained and promulgated its essential doctrines, namely, that existence is identical with misery, that the cause of misery is attachment to earthly things, and that to set the mind free from this attachment ought to be the chief object of life. Sakya's teachings are based on these fundamental ideas, which are alluded to in the pages of the *Matsya*, *Vishnu*, *Bhágabat*, *Garura*, and other Puráns, in which the name of Buddha is also mentioned. In the legacy of precepts which Sakya left there was therefore, nothing new. They were all older at least than the Puráns named, and the Puráns were written at about the same time that the Veds were codified.

Of course Pouránism was also simultaneously developed, or, at all events, it could not have started into existence much later. But there was this difference between them, that the one professed to be deduced from the Veds and was necessarily orthodox, and was

supported as such, while the other, if it did not explicitly deny the authority of the Veds at this stage, was still never anxious to receive their support, and was necessarily un-orthodox. Before the age of Sakya the authority of the Veds remained undisputed, however much their various doctrines may have been twisted and tortured; but, if not openly disputed, the divinity of doubt was already at work, and those who rejected the never-ceasing prayers and endless ceremonies of the *Sanhitas* and the *Bráhmans* for the dogmas enunciated by the Buddhas, did not apply to the Veds to support them. At this time however, the prominent feature of Buddhism was philosophical, though, coupled indeed with new phases of thought and devotion; and this character was apparently retained by it throughout the entire era of the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Sakya. Akin to it were the dogmas of Kapila, codified by Iswara Krishna, though in them the Buddhas, are expressly spoken of as *Násticas*, or unbelievers, simply because they did not, as has been stated, lean on the Veds for support. The *Bráhmans* did not remain silent spectators of what they deemed to be the advances of atheism. The controversies and challenges were constant, and called forth all the talent so largely displayed on both sides. But it was not for controversy to decide religious supremacy; it was mainly the arm of power that regulated the scale. When the kings were Buddhists the *Bráhmans* were obliged to submit; when the kings were *Bráhmans* or adherents of the *Bráhmans*, the reformers went to the wall; and thus matters went on till the age of Sakya. How Sakya recoined the faith for the currency he gave to it has now to be explained.

By birth Sakya was a *Kshetriya* prince, and Buddhism before his time was confined apparently to the *Kshetriya* race. His personal name was Sid'dhartha, Sakya being only a family-name which he glorified by his greatness. In youth his mind was formed in the school of the *Bráhmans*. He studied *Bráhman* philosophy and underwent *Bráhman* rites; but was dissatisfied with the

result. He then lived for six years in retirement, in the neighbourhood of Gyáh, and watched and prayed till he attained the state of a Buddha, becoming the wisest and most perfect of the Buddhas, and therefore fit to codify that religion which had hitherto been communicated orally. He did not write down anything himself. Like all great philosophers of the ancient world he taught by conversation only; but his precepts were remembered and repeated, and finally booked by his disciples. He laid an injunction on them, in fact, to hand down to others what they heard from him; and this trust was faithfully discharged by them. The Buddhist code consists of three parts, (1) *Sutrás*, or the discourses of Sakya, also called *Buddha Bachana*, or the words of A'di-Buddha, (2) *Vinaya*, or code of morality; (3) *Abhi Dharma*, a system of metaphysics. The first of them was compiled by Ananda, the favorite disciple of Sakya; the second by Upáli; the third by Kasyápa. It is said that the first and second only had the sanction of the father-sage, but of the third he was not personally cognizant. It is known for certain that Sakya regarded all metaphysical discussions as vain and unprofitable, and frequently remarked that the ideas of "being" and "not being" did not admit of discussion.

Vedism was all rites and prayers; the doctrines promulgated by Sakya professed to save the soul by teaching. They were founded, as we have shown already, on a distinct belief of God, who however did not, it was maintained, encumber himself with the management of the world. The world is governed by everlasting laws of nature, by obedience to which we rise, and by disobedience fall. These laws cannot be set aside by prayers and worship; they were made for being practised, and must be practised. The fundamental doctrines of the faith followed these general precepts, and were four in number, namely, (1) that all existence is evil, because existence implies pain, sorrow, and decay; (2) that the source of evil is the desire for things which change and pass away; (3) that to avoid evil the only way is to seek for *Nirván*; and (4) that the

certain way to find it is by following eight steps, namely, right belief, right judgment, right utterance, right motives, right occupation, right obedience, right memory, and right meditation. The search for *Nirvān* however, is not the only path open to man. There are two paths pointed out to him, one leading to personal happiness connected with personal existence, which can be secured by the good man by the practice of virtues, and is to be enjoyed in the worlds of the gods, whose existence was not ignored; the other is the high road to *Nirvān*, which can be attained only by the highest perfection of intelligence. The former was represented by Sakya as being a state in which the soul desires nothing, hates nothing, and feels nothing but universal love and peace; and he asserted that many thousands of saints live so in the worlds of the gods, in countless hosts. Of the latter he stated: "Keeping fast hold of the spirit, absorbed in himself, the hermit breaks his shell and hastens away from it *as a bird slips from the egg*;" that is, to freedom and light. It has been attempted to explain that the *Nirvān* of Buddhism is akin to annihilation. But this certainly is not so. It simply means "enfranchisement;" enfranchisement from this existence, which is evil, for an appreciation of the eternal. What is annihilated is the mortal part of man, his sins and ignorance. What are gained are purification and knowledge, a knowledge not of things but of reality, a knowledge of intelligence and of God. The only way of attaining this *Nirvān* is by meditation, which necessarily implies meditation on God. The process of meditation was then attempted to be divided into stages, and this launched the religion into the wide sea of metaphysics.

Both for the religion of the heart and the religion of the intellect, a number of initial commandments were laid down by Sakya for observance, to which particular importance was attached. These were: (1) Do not kill; (2) Do not steal; (3) Do not commit adultery; (4) Do not lie, and (5) Do not become intoxicated. A better selection of primary rules could hardly have been made;

but to these five others were added by his disciples, showing clearly how little they appreciated the teaching of their guide. These were : (6) Do not take solid food after noon ; (7) Do not visit dances, singing, and theatrical representations ; (8) Do not use ornaments and perfumery ; (9) Do not sleep on luxurious beds ; and (10) Do not accept presents of gold and silver. It was by additions of this nature, and by commentaries and expositions thereon, that the simplicity of Sakya's teaching was destroyed. Many dogmas were added to the original code ; and the Abhi Dharma of Kasyapa set up a vast and alarming fabric of abstractions and metaphysics.

There was nothing new in the doctrines of Sakya. In their main features they were identical with the doctrines of the sages, hermits, and Buddhas who had preceded him on the same track. But it was he who for the first time expressly repudiated the authority of the Veds, and, preaching his religion from town to town and village to village, invited to it believers from all castes. For the first time in the history of the world all the bonds of tribe and race were broken through, and it was emphatically declared that the lot of humanity was common and the deliverance from it open to all. Buddhism was not simply philosophic ; though it asserted that the search for *Nirvāṇ* was the great object of life, it did not lose itself in idle speculations only, for it also encouraged the practice of benevolence, and prescribed laws for observance which included all the social duties of life and all the political duties of a citizen. The practical benevolence of the religion was unmistakeable ; its appeal to reason and common sense was as clear as noon-day ; and more converts were made by it than Mahomedanism was able to secure by an appeal to force, or Christianity by an appeal to faith. It had this further advantage to back it that, unlike the religions of the Jews and the Bráhmans, it required no sacrifice but that of the heart, no blood-offerings of any description. It set its face even against bodily austerity, which it condemned as much as evil lusts. All the penances and mortifications it required were those of the heart, which alone could purify it.

Buddhism ignored the Veds; but it did not ignore Bráhmānism: it only offered a better way. The character and tone of the religion were the highest that could have been assumed. It looked sorrowfully at life; asked neither for riches, pleasures, nor power; sought for salvation or freedom only by virtue, self-denial, and knowledge; and was full of boundless charity towards all. Patience, humility, and forgiveness of injuries are all Buddha virtues; a reverence for truth, chastity, and temperance its cardinal doctrines; the safety of the soul its greatest concern. The mass of mankind did not care for the metaphysics which enshrouded it; their faith was confined to the simple tenet that goodness in this life will secure happiness in the next. It was this which brought in a new era of social and moral reform in a country where it was now, almost for the first time, announced to the masses that virtue is pleasing to God and sin offensive to him. With this beautiful doctrine, Buddhism proclaimed equality and fraternity as fundamental principles of religion, and thus was it enabled in a short time to divide the empire of opinion nearly equally with Bráhmānism. Mr. Prinsep proves, on the evidence of coins and inscriptions, that India was under the sway of Buddhistic kings when Alexander invaded the country; and Col. Sykes is positive that Buddhism prevailed over it generally from the time of Sakya to A. D. 700. Of course the Bráhmāns disputed the ground with the Buddhists inch by inch; but, at the time indicated, the country was fairly divided between the two faiths.

The chief drawback of Buddhism was that it was a *sad* religion; preaching sadness through life, sadness through transmigrations, sadness that seeks salvation by enfranchisement! But this did not act as a deterrent, for even this sadness of it had a silent charm. The goodness of life which it inculcated carried with it its own reward; and the enfranchisement from evil it aspired to could not fail to make the heart light and buoyant. There was no counterpart to its doctrines in the belief of the Bráhmāns. In some points only did Buddhism agree with Vedantism; but these were mere philosophical

points, and even in respect to them the consonance was partial. Both considered existence to be an evil, both sought for the deliverance of the soul by abstract meditation, both considered active virtues to be of secondary importance ; but while Vedantism upheld *absorption* into the Deity as the final result to be wished for, Buddhism was content to look out only for *emancipation* from an evil existence as its greatest reward ; while the one considered works to be fetters, and all fetters whether of gold or iron to be equally inconvenient, the other insisted on the practise of virtue by all who aspired either for personal happiness or for liberation.

But how did such a religion descend to the Llamá-ism of the present day ? The answer is : From the cold philosophy and mischievous monachism which the disciples of Sakya added to it. "A hare fell in with a tiger ; by means of *Yatna* (perseverance) the hare threw the tiger into a well. Hence it follows that *Yatna* prevails over physical force, knowledge, and the Mantras ;" and so *Yatna* was cultivated to the exclusion of other virtues. But, unfortunately, the duties enjoined by *Yatna* were very severe ; very few could really practice them ; and so the seekers of knowledge, affecting *Yatna*, but not practising the duties required by it, settled down into a caste of monks and nuns, who sought for *Nirván* without understanding what it meant. It was in this way that the teachings of Sakya sank down into Pharisaism, and that the fragments of his body who denied worship to the gods came to be deified. Mr. Wheeler contends that the relics of Sakya are not worshipped as gods, but merely as memorials of a great teacher. The apology is very insufficient. If the tooth of Sakya can be revered unblamed, why should not the *lingam* of Mahádeva receive its share of deference ? It is certain that Sakya himself would have protested most loudly against the impiety.

In India a vigorous protest was made against such latches by the godliness of Asoka, or Priyadarshi, a king of Magadha, who greatly improved the Buddhists' faith. His edicts inculcated goodness, virtue, kindness,

and piety as being the cardinal doctrines of the religion, and enjoined the cultivation of Dharma as being more urgently necessary than abstraction or monastic discipline. The division thus made was perpetuated by the distinctions now called "Little Vehicle" and "Large Vehicle," of which the first has reference to moral duties, and the second to intellectual development. With these edicts Asoka sent out numerous missionary monks to preach the religion, not only throughout India, but to all the surrounding countries, by which means it was most extensively propagated. Vedism was not known out of India; the religion of Zoroaster never wandered beyond the confines of Persia; the doctrines of Confucius were circumscribed within the limits of the Chinese Empire; but Buddhism, thrown broadcast nearly all over Eastern Asia, took root in every place.

Of the revolution which subverted it in India much is not known; but it was not from any defect of doctrine, but by the morbid hostility of the Bráhmans, that it was, after a long and relentless struggle, overthrown. If Buddhism be identical with Rákshasism, its first overthrow in India would date, as we have mentioned, from the Bráhma-Kshetriya war of Parusrám and the Rákshasa war of Ráma. But the faith which succumbed then was the effete Buddhism of the philosophers. The revived faith of Sakya was first opposed by Nanda in the fourth century before Christ, but made head again under Asoka. After that era, new dynasties came into power that knew not Sakya or Priyadarsi, and cared not for their teachings. A violent re-action had intermediately improved Vedism by the manufacture of the Vedánta, and thus, all circumstances conspiring to that end, the Bráhmans were enabled to chase out with orthodox weapons an unorthodox faith, at a time when India was broken up into a large number of petty principalities, distracted alike by political and religious feuds. The exterminating persecutions were commenced by Kumarilla Bhatta, in A. D. 500, but up to A. D. 700 the decline of Buddhism was gradual. From the eighth century it became more precipitate, the severest blow

being given to the religion in the ninth century, by Sancaráchárya, who contended with equal energy and the sharp acuteness of a thorough Vedantist against both Buddhism and Pouránism. One of the greatest conflicts with Buddhism, perhaps the very last, was fought in the neighbourhood of Benares, at Sarnáth, which was a Buddhá stronghold of great name. Disputation here came to blows, and Sarnáth was sacked and burned, probably in the eleventh century, when the Mahomedans had already appeared in the extreme North-west.

IV.—Pouránism; or, the popular religion.

WHEN Vedism was unable to keep its ground against Buddhism it called in the aid of Pouránism to entertain the popular mind, and at the same time manufactured the Vedánta for the gratification of the philosophers. Both these new religions were based on the Veds, Pouránism being founded on the *Sanhitas* and the Vedánta on the *Upanishads*. The mythology of the Puráns, however, was not simply an amplification of the mythology of the *Sanhitas*, but rather an extravagant perversion of it. Even in the oldest *Sanhitas* of the *Rig Ved* the names of some of the Pouránic divinities occur; but a great many others were added by the Puráns of whom the *Sanhitas* had no knowledge, while the characters given of them all were very different from those assigned to them by the Vedic hymns. The cause is obvious. The character and condition of the people had intermediately undergone many changes, and these were reflected in the religion as it was modified.

The age of the Puráns will probably be about the same as that of Vyasa, by whom they are said to have been codified, though of course all the Puráns were not of the same date, any more than all the Veds were. It may be observed of them generally, that they immediately followed the era of the *Atharván Ved* and the *Itiháses*, by the latter of which names the great poems, the *Rámáyana* and the *Mahábhárut*, are distinguished;

and this is established by the fact already mentioned that the Purāns are the first to speak of the Veds as being four, instead of three, in number, and name themselves and the Itihāsas as comprising a fifth Ved. The total number of the Purāns is eighteen; and they are named as follows: the *Brahmā*, *Padma*, *Brahmānda*, *Agni*, *Vishnu*, *Garuda*, *Brahma-Vaivarta*, *Saiva*, *Lainga*, *Narādyā*, *Skānda*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Bhaviṣyat*, *Matsya*, *Varāha*, *Karma*, *Vāmana*, and *Bhāgavat*. They are reckoned to contain about four hundred-thousand stanzas; and besides them there are several *upa*, or minor, Purāns barely inferior to them in authority. The earliest of the *Mahā-Purāns* was the *Brahma Purān*, sometimes called the *Adi Purān*; and the next to it was the *Padma Purān*, which asserts that the *Brahma Purān* came after it, a clear proof that it preceded it. Both those Purāns speak of the sanctity of *Utkala-desā* or Orissa, and the *Padma Purān* also describes Assam, which may be accepted as good evidence that when they were written the Indus had long previously been migrated from, and the extreme frontiers on the east occupied.

It is not necessary to give any analysis of the Purāns in this place, nor is it possible to do so within the limits available to us, the records being too bulky for compression within any reasonable compass. Their general character is nearly the same. Almost all of them speak very diffusely of the creation of the world and the human race, give elaborate accounts of the wars waged between the gods and the *asoors*, and between the gods and the *dasyas*, describe the planetary regions and the upper worlds, furnish long legends respecting the deities and sages, with bald genealogies of kings and princes, give expression to several metaphysical speculations and instructions for religious ceremonies, and spin out unending stories of *tirthyas* and bathing-places. On these convenient pegs the entire pantheon of the Hindus is expanded, and embellished with fabrications of every description. In the Vedic age the Brāhmans were truth-telling: apart from the legends they composed the hymn-writers stated things

as they actually were. But the Pouránic writers never condescended to do so. Their statements are nothing if they are not untrue and preposterous.

The deities of the Sanhitas were the personifications of the elements and the powers of nature. The softly-setting sun and the silver moon were objects of reverence and prayer ; in the rush of the storm and the course of the lightning were seen traces of angels and of gods ; the fanciful descried a present deity in the earth beneath their feet ; and the foolish paid the first fair honors of the harvest to the sky above them. But these were not the gods the Puráns delighted to honor. The elements and objects of nature had long ceased either to terrify or amaze, and did not require to be further propitiated. The names were accordingly altered, for the most part for those of human heroes, namely, those who had distinguished themselves in the *áhoor* and *dasya* wars ; and they were clothed with all the colors of a voluptuous life in recognition of the tempting natural enjoyments which the people themselves had succeeded to attain. It was thus that the gods of the Sanhitas came to be either set aside or superseded, where they were not entirely denied. The Bráhmans did not venture to ignore them in every case, as to do so would have removed or loosened the foundation-stones on which their new fabric was upreared. But they did all they could to reduce those in honor and consequence whom they found it absolutely necessary to name, while many of the minor deities were conveniently lost sight of.

The differences in other respects also, were very great. In the Vedic age there were no images made, nor temples consecrated to the gods to whom the hymns were addressed ; and in the characters given of them there was rarely anything to blush at. The state of society had materially altered since then ; the Bráhmans, before unsettled, had now conquered large fertile tracts of land which they comfortably occupied ; the gods therefore were also made happy by local habitations and names being assigned to them. Among the Vedic gods

again, there was no competition; while Indra was addressed in prayer, Varuna was completely forgotten; for the time at least there was only one Supreme God, namely, the deity invoked, which may be understood as implying an undercurrent of monotheism in the midst of mythology. This feature of it was now altered. Each Pouránic god received a distinct form and name; the Puráns even describe his features, limbs, color, and apparel, and assign to him, in every case, an individuality of character and a fixed position and status. While Vishnu was invoked Siva was not forgotten; they fought with each other for the supremacy, they respectively claimed; there were parties who upheld their respective claims in these contests; they were absolutely "gods many" without any thread of monotheism to unite them together.

When the difference was so great between the two systems of mythology, the difference between the faiths of the Upanishads and the Puráns was of course much greater. The abstract notion of the Deity as inculcated in the terminal sections of the Veds was too difficult for the people to understand, and, if the philosophers adhered to it for the sake of that very difficulty, they were not unwilling that the great mass of the people should have another faith to themselves, easier than "a passage over the sharp end of a razor," as they characterised the Vedánta. The great object held in view was to defeat the Buddhists, no matter how, and, as their cue from the outset was the adoration of one God by intelligence, they were advisedly opposed by the adoption of a general worship of many gods without the exercise of much intelligence, and so two sections of the same community deliberately accepted for themselves diametrically opposite doctrines to suppress a common enemy. The first repulse of Buddhism was probably achieved just previous to the Pouránic era; after which the Bráhmans gave to all India a common faith, calculated to suit all tastes and comprehensions, retaining at the same time the most metaphysical speculations regarding the Deity which were not unorthodox as comprising the best religion for the enlightened few.

The authorities on which the new mythology was established were the *Smṛiti*, or the written Shástras, by which the Puráns and the Itiháses were meant, which we have already said are of less authority than the *Sruti*, or uttered Shástras—that is, the Veds. The Puráns, however, do not admit this to be the case. “He who knows the four Veds and their supplements and the Upanishads is not really learned,” they say, “unless he knows the Puráns also. Let a man therefore, complete his knowledge of the Veds by a study of the Itiháses and the Puráns.” Similarly, the Itiháses, in speaking of themselves, declare that, as religious authorities, they are on an equality with the Veds. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pouránic mythology is so divergent. With so many voluminous works to support it it would have been wonderful indeed if it had been less extravagant.

We must now descend a little into particulars to give some adequate idea of the faith that was thus established. The Vedic triad, we have said, was composed of Agni, Váyu, and Surjya. The idea was copied by the Puráns and a triad set up consisting of Bruhmá, Vishnu, and Mahádeva. Of these Bruhmá is the same as the neuter Bruhma of the Upanishads, but completely divested of the character given to him there, as the very fact of his being associated with two co-adjutors clearly testifies. Bruhmá is also traceable in the Sanhitas, where he is once mentioned as being the same with Indra, and more distinctly on later occasions as Prajápati, Hiranyagarbha, and Viśwakarmá. In the later Veds Vishnu also is mentioned, and several Rudras, who collectively assume in the Puráns the name of Mahádeva, or the Great God. These three together take the lead in the Pouránic pantheon, and are also singly superior to all the other gods. The Vedic deities, Agni, Váyu, Varuna, and Soma, are almost nowhere in the Puráns. Surjya is nearly in the same boat with them, except that the *gáyatri* in the *Rig* Ved addressed to him has still to be repeated by the Bráhmans in their daily ceremonials. The mouth-honor conceded to him by that

formula is thus continued ; but besides that he receives, no further attention. The Aswinis, Máruts, Vásts, &c., are almost completely ignored, being only ticketted and numbered among the 330 millions that comprise the divine conclave of Sumeru.

The principal deities of Pouránism then, are the male gods Bruhmá, Vishnu, and Mahádeva, and their *Sactis*, Seraswati, Lakshmi, and Umá or Párvati. Between the first three of these the Puráns themselves record a continuous contest for supremacy, which probably refers to internal feuds among the Bráhmans under different leaders. Bruhmá was, apparently a god from the commencement, as distinguished from deified heroes, and therefore his rivals succeeded early to push him to the wall. The worship of Siva began most probably on the banks of the Indus, while that of Vishnu was originated on the banks of the Ganges ; so that the latest of the triad was not admitted to that high rank till after a very wide diffusion of the Bráhmans over the peninsula. He is represented as having figured greatly in the A'hoor war, and he probably owed his exaltation to that circumstance : while Siva is understood to be a Hametic deity, forcibly introduced into India by the Ethiopian conquerors of the country, which is recorded by the tale of Daksha's sacrifice, when the rites of the Bráhmans were violently disturbed, and the worship of the new god was introduced. Then followed the continuous wars of the Solar and Lunar races, and those waged between the Bráhmans and the Kshetriyas, which must have been connected, in some way or other, both with the quarrels of the Pouranic deities, and with the powerful opposition organised against Bráhmanism by the earlier Buddhas. All these contentions were eventually settled by the triumph of the Bráhmans over the Buddhas in the fourteenth or fifteenth century before Christ, when, to remove the possibility of any future disagreement among themselves, the worship of the rival candidates of the Puráns was made uniform by the recognition of the *Trimurti*. The Puráns were contemporaneous with these quarrels, and are therefore party-

spirited on principle. The *Matsya*, *Linga*, *Saiva*, *Karma*, and *Skanda* are all Saivite in character; the *Vishnu*, *Náradya*, *Bhágabat*, *Pádma*, and *Garura* uphold the faith of Vishnu; while the *Bramánda*, *Brahma Vaivarta*, *Márkandaya*, and *Bhavishyat* advocate the general worship of the female power. When they were all codified together and generally accepted the sectarian wars were closed, every local belief and denominational opinion finding place in the inconsistent and contradictory whole, which bristled with anomalies of every description. It was then that passages were interpolated in them by which the rival gods were made to praise each other, whereby the great end held in view of satisfying all parties was attained. In the *Uttará Khanda* of the *Padma Purán* Siva says to Párvati: "Who adore other gods than Vishnu and hold any his equal are not to be looked at, touched, or spoken to:"—a bold stroke on the part of an unscrupulous author to secure a desired end.

The abstract view of One God not having answered, the *Trimurti* and their *Sactis* were originated, and the former vested with the triple duties of generation, preservation, and destruction. This idea is not without Vedic support. The *Upanishads* maintain that the highest being exists in the three states of creation, continuance, and destruction; and when that being was divided into three (the three-in-one) it was only right that their respective functions should be defined. Says Major Moor in his *Hindu Pantheon*, in mythology Brahmá is the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer; in metaphysics the first is matter, the second spirit, and the third time; and in natural philosophy earth, water, and fire respectively. The generator, Brahmá, had however his worship early overthrown by the struggles to which we have referred, which materially increased the renown and influence of the other two. They are both of them very largely worshipped to this day, Vishnu as preserver, and Siva as destroyer, as they are named in the *Shástras*; the latter also as generator, as represented by the *Lingam*, the truth intended to be inculcated being that destruction is only another name for

regeneration. The emblem of the *Lingam* was, Lassen thinks, the chief object of veneration among the *dasyas*, who, on being subdued, made a present of the idea to the Bráhmans, that it might be associated with the worship of Rudra. Subsequently, the *Lingam* was united with the *Yoni*, the emblem of the *Sactis*, and was worshipped as *Argha*, Mahádeva being named *Arghanáth*, or lord of the *Argha*. This union was effected probably, to patch up a peace between the *Sáctas* and the *Saivas*, the morality or immorality of the design being considered of minor account. At this time the morals of the Bráhmans must have very much deteriorated, and that of the people at large was probably no better. What the worship of Osiris was in Egypt, of Phallus amongst the Greeks, of Priapus amongst the Romans, that is the worship of the *Yoni* and the *Lingam* in India; and yet the temples dedicated to the *Argha* at this moment outnumber those dedicated to all the other gods taken together, the most important shrine being that of Visheswara at Benares, which is more frequented even than the temple of Jagganáth.

After the three primary deities come in their wives, or energies,—the executors of their will. This idea also is borrowed from the Veds, where the *Máyá* of Brahmá is represented as a distinct being originating from him and exercising all his powers. Seraswati, the wife of Brahmá, is referred to in the Veds only as a holy river, which must have been converted into a goddess after the advance of the Bráhmans eastward from the Punjáb. She is also spoken of as Vách, or the divine word; while Lakshmi is spoken of as a goddess of doubtful repute; and Umá as Ámbiká, without any allusion to her union with Mahádeva. It will thus be seen that the re-arrangement in the Puráns, though nominally based on the Veds, was in reality on an entirely new plan, though what that plan was may not be very intelligible at every point. The stories given in regard to the different deities are so various, that it is difficult to understand if any regular draft was followed in reorganising the national faith. Particular instances excepted, it looks rather as

if the whole chaotic mass was put together at haphazard and the combination set up for reverence. We cannot notice all these stories separately; we shall refer to one only to explain the sort of manipulation that was practised, and we select at random that regarding Umá, the chief of the *actis*, for our illustration. One Pouránic account makes her the daughter of the mountain Himávat who married her to the unequalled Rudra, after which the devotee and the goddess began to indulge emulously in connubial love, and, neither being conquered, no child was born to them. Another makes her the energy of all the gods, who exhaled flames of anger from their mouths on hearing of the greatness and misdeeds of *Mahisásoor*, a demon, the flames resolving themselves into a goddess of exquisite beauty, by whom the demon was slain. It was easy to manufacture stories of this sort to any extent; possibly some of them were not mere stories but had a basis of scientific truth in them. This much, however, may be accepted as certain, that the deification of human beings was the end held in view by most of them. Of Umá the virgin name was *Kanya Kumári*, or the maidenly. Her worship extended to the southernmost extremity of India, which was after her called Cape Kumári, since corrupted into Comorin. A suggestion has been thrown out that the worship of this goddess merely implies the worship of the constellation Virago, and that the adoration of several of the other gods can be similarly accounted for. This may be so. It is quite possible that some particular festivals had their rise from natural causes, such as solistitial, astral, or season observances, and probably existed from time anterior to the Puráns. But when Pouránism and human deification were introduced the festivals were all assigned to particular deities, and from that time became as mythological as the rest.

The germs of Pouránism were in the Veds, but their fanciful and extravagant development, as in the Puráns, was not arrived at till after the lapse of several ages. Some of the Puráns were probably contemporaneous with the first start of philosophical Buddhism, by which

time the state of society had perhaps become vicious enough to require the substitution of frivolous ceremonies in place of moral duties, and the prescription of silly penances for the most revolting crimes. This materially helped the growth of Buddhism as an opposing power ; but the Bráhmans having succeeded in overthrowing that religion several times, naturally grew giddy with their success, and deliberately sat down to weave out more and more of silliness and frivolity, till the very voluminousness of the Puráns steadied their foundations. Many mudforts in India have been found stronger than those built of stone, namely, those the basis of which was of ample bulk ; and, on the same principle, the Puráns have turned out to be stronger fabrics than the Veds.

The first successes over Buddhism were obtained by Parusrám and Rámchandra, who were nearly contemporaneous ; and the latter is expressly stated to have introduced the worship of Umá when proceeding to fight with the king of Ceylon. In the case of Umá her identity with the daughter of a mountain-king is clearly mentioned, and, even if her worship had an astronomical origin, the real object held in view from the Pouránic times was apparently the exaltation of a favorite princess who may have done the country some service in her day. The identity of the other gods and goddesses cannot always be followed out with similar precision ; but it may safely be assumed that, in most cases, the persons deified were ascetics, sages, and heroes or heroines amongst the Bráhmans, while some doubtless were ideal creatures of the brain, embellished with qualifications and sins to suit the general taste. The motives for setting these up for worship must have been personal. All the Shástras, says Vrihaspati, had three authors only, namely, a buffoon, a rogue, and a fiend ; and the character of the Pouránic gods and institutions fully justifies the supposition, though how and to what extent the manufacturers of them were benefited may be difficult to explain. Jamadagni says that the *devatás*, one and all, with their names, forms, and actions, are mere fictitious inventions contrived to back certain ordinances and practices the observance of

which was considered salutary. But this explanation of them cannot be very easily followed ; nor can it be admitted that the ordinances enjoined by the Puráns are always wholesome or salutary. In one, and one respect only, the Puráns do exhibit a decided superiority over the Veds. The religion of the Sanhitas both prescribed and advocated the use of the *Soma* and *Sura* drinks ; but the Puráns, though representing their deity-in-chief, Siva, as a drunkard and a smoker of narcotic drugs, set their face against the use of such potations and drugs by men, and the Institutes of Menu, explicitly declare that the Bráhmaṇ who drinks wine and spirits sinks for that offence to the rank of a Sudra. The reason for this change apparently was that, by the time the Puráns and the *Smṛiti* generally were codified, the warmest parts of India had become occupied, when the renunciation of the use of liquid-fire became a medical need and was therefore religiously prescribed.

One singular feature of later Pouránism is the worship of the *avatárs*, or incarnations, who, it is pretended visited the earth for the relief of humanity when in sufferance, and the exaltation of piety and virtue when depressed. This feature is peculiar to the worship of Vishnu. The worship of Mahádeva is centred in that of the *Lingam* ; while that of Vishnu is comprised in the worship of his chief *avatárs*, Ráma and Krishna, both of whom came to destroy sinners and to purify the earth. The story of Ráma has been immortalised by Válmik, and that of Krishna by Vyasa, the two best poems in Sânskṛit having been written to commemorate their services to mankind. The other Pouránic deities largely worshipped are Siva and Lakshmi, the latter mainly as a *griha-devatá*, or household divinity. The greatest sages of the country, even those who professed monotheism to be their only faith, divided themselves into parties to found and confirm the adoration of one or other of these divinities ; and they all held, as is held by most Hindus to this day, that the worship of " gods many " is not incompatible with that of one God. " As rivers through a hundred channels seek the sea, so

faith seeks God through all the different names that are worshipped." The different gods, it is contended, are all one ; there is no difference between them but in name ; they are the diversified forms of the same being ; and the worship paid to them severally is essentially the same, being nothing more or less than the worship of one God. This is substantially untrue in point of fact. That it is nevertheless so generally and persistently maintained shows how strongly the Pouránic fabric is founded.

We have eschewed all reference to the minor deities of the Puráns, whose name is legion, as all we intended in this chapter was to explain the nature of Póuránism, without going into unnecessary details. Once set up it was only a work of time for the system to expand, till it became what it now is, the most extravagant, wild, and divergent polythoism in the world ; including cows, bulls, monkeys, reptiles, and birds as gods. It may be fully admitted that many fragments of historical and metaphysical truth, which survived the loss of a purer creed, have been blended with the wild legends that are narrated. . . But, unfortunately, the intolerable deal of sack has been too much for the half-penny worth of bread, which it is impossible to recognize in the compound.

Of course the mythology is very imposing ; but all that splendour is in the external varnish only. There is nothing solid within. If the framers of it had only left the characters of their deities blameless there would not have been so much to complain of ; but it is here that they have made the greatest mess. . . Adopting the account of the Upanishads, the Puráns also, in some places, declare God to be destitute of qualities. It would have been well if they had adhered even to this negation throughout. Unfortunately they did not and could not do it. We have only to refer to the triad—the greatest of the gods—to discover how revoltingly they are described. The representation of Bruhmá is that of a scholar and a hermit, and the color given to him is dark or golden. The Veds also speak of him as the "golden orb" and the "source of golden light ;" but it was left to the Puráns

to explain what the golden color means. It means simply that the god is replete with amativeness ; and the Puráns then go on to illustrate their assertion, one of the least astounding of the proofs advanced being that, as the *Vishnu* Purán has it, Bruhmá attempted the chastity of his own daughter Sandhya, or, as the *Matsya* Purán, which names her Satarupá, makes out, lived with her for a hundred years. The usual representation of Vishnu is that of a warrior, and the character given to him is somewhat better than the characters of his colleagues. Among the gods too he was a polygámist, having two wives, Lakshmi and Satyavámá, and this ought to have kept him altogether away from incontinence. But we read in the *Padma* Purán that he ruined Brindá, a chaste wife, by assuming the form of her husband Jalandhar, an *asoor*, and became a tree to deceive another stubborn lady, also of the *asoor* race. The accounts of Siva are yet worse, notwithstanding that the general character given to him is that of a devotee. The following description of him occurs in one of the Puráns : " He wanders about surrounded by ghosts and goblins, inebriated, naked, and with dishevelled hair, covered with ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones, sometimes laughing and sometimes crying." He is still oftener represented as sedulously hunting after females ; and his indecorous and open dalliance with his wife was such as filled the *rishis* with amazement and horror. . . . What the actual state of society in India at the period when the Puráns were composed was will perhaps never be understood. That it was at least nearly as bad as the books indicate is clear from the strenuous efforts that were made, from time to time, by the scholars and sages to recal attention to the Veds.

V:—Vedantism ; the religion of the orthodox philosophers.

VEDANTISM was manufactured simultaneously with Pouránism, and for the self-same object, namely, the destruction of Buddhism. It had an anterior existence in the Upanishads, but had no connection whatever with the Saphitas and the Bráhmanas. The speculative chapters appended to the Bráhmanas treated exclusively of Bruhmu ; and, besides the particular *rishis* with whom the idea originated, a great many other sages supported it, including Ikshwaku, Vashista, and Parásar. But the misty dreams of the Upanishads were not fully developed in their age, and the Vedánta was necessarily not well understood till it was systematized in the next generation by Krishna Dwaipayana, the son of Parásar, best known by his surname of Vyasa, or the compiler. It was this great scholar who codified both the Veds and the Puráns, that is, the entire orthodox faith of the nation, to guard them against the wiles of an unorthodox enemy. But in doing this he felt that something more than mere codification was necessary to secure the adhesion of the learned, and to attain that end he compiled from the Upanishads a compendious abstract of theology, or rather a catalogue of proofs in respect to it, which he called the "resolution," or, as Sir William Jones interpreted the term Vedánta, "the end and scope" of the whole scriptures. He did not deny the pretensions of idolatry ; it was not in his power to do so, nor would it have answered his object to create a division in the orthodox camp by attempting it : he deliberately gave to both idolatry and his own faith the same stable foundation of the Veds. But he distinguished broadly the relative position of each, called one the religion of the wise, and the other that of the ignorant, and then left it to the choice of his readers to embrace whichever doctrine they preferred.

We start then by accepting Vyasa as the founder of the new doctrine, and his *Sámríka Sutrás*, otherwise called the *Vedánta Durshan*, as its chief code of authority ; and this carries back the date of its first promul-

gation to the fourteenth century before Christ. The *Gita* of Krishna was composed at the same time and by the same author, and contained one of the best expositions of the new faith, whereby the time for its wider acceptance was materially hastened. The greatest sages of the day had already become weary of the prayers of the *Sanhitas* and the sacrifices of the *Bráhmaṇas*, and eagerly accepted the monotheism of the *Vedánta* as supplying the one unfilled longing of their hearts. The intuitive knowledge of God, which was lost before the age of the *Sanhitas*, was thus recovered ; but recovered only by those whose minds had become sick of the extravagancies of the *Puráns*. The disciples of Vyasa, it is true, were many, and their disciples again were still more numerous ; but there is little doubt, for all that, that Vedantism was never very generally propagated, and that the relapses from it to idolatry were frequent. "The doctrine of this knowledge of God," says the *Vedánta*, "cannot be well comprehended, for it is very subtle ;" "even the gods were frequently in doubt respecting it ;" and this led the Vedantists themselves to point out the need of idolatry, as a sort of mental exercise for men of limited understandings to secure them from the rock of atheism and prepare their minds for the adoration of God. The fact is, that, for a long time, Vedantism was not in a position to assert its pre-eminence independently of *Pouránism*, that is, so long as Buddhism was alive and vigorous. It was only after Buddhism had fallen in the wane that the advocates of the *Vedánta* advanced, demanding to be fully heard. We do not find till A. D. 900 a scholar like *Sancarácharjya* coming to the fore to refute in the same breath the doctrines of Buddha and the *Puráns*.

The *Vedánta*, as it was understood by the philosophers, was a very noble religion, and marched along with Buddhism a considerable way. The idea of the Godhead as upheld by both was almost equally sublime, that according to the *Vedánta* being perhaps a shade sublimer even than the other. No higher conception of the Deity than that to which Vyasa gives expression can well be imagined ; no better sentiments in regard to

him are anywhere to be met with, notwithstanding all the metaphysical and speculative blunders by which the great truth is enshrouded. He is described as being "sole existent, one without a second, uncreate, omnipotent, and infinite;" "a spirit without passions, separated from matter, pure wisdom and happiness, everlasting, unchangeable, and incomprehensible." "The best idea that we can form of God," says Vyasa, "is that He is light." Of this it may be said that it gives no idea of Him at all. But even Milton refers to the notion as a sublime one, and both Buddhism and the Bible* accept it in the same light. In the latter God describes Himself as "I am that I am." The very same words almost are used in speaking of Him alike by Buddhism and the Vedānta.

Very strenuous were the efforts thus made by the Bráhmans to regain the original idea of God with which they had parted company so long. The way to the search was undoubtedly first indicated by the Buddhas; but the faith of the latter being unorthodox could not be generally accepted, and so the Bráhmans sat down to consult again the great Shástras they had compiled on the banks of the Indus—the inviolable *Śruti* uttered by God—for that pure natural theology which, even in the midst of impurity and defilement, the heart is so loathe to relinquish; and who shall say that their search was unsuccessful? The way had been prepared for them by previous aspirants; the Upanishads had become part and parcel of the Veds; and on the strong basis of those appendages was monotheism revived.

But the comparatively simple age of the Upanishads had unfortunately already gone by, and had been followed by a speculative and metaphysical era which disfigured with its mysticisms the brightest ideas of God. It was so with Buddhism, and so again with Vedantism. The exalted definitions of the Deity to which we have referred were hampered by speculative dogmas which necessarily compromised them. The

* I John I-5.

Great Being recognized as supreme was deliberately characterised as being "void of qualities," not meaning thereby that His qualities did not partake of the nature of our qualities, and were different from what our notions represent them to be, but that He was destitute of them altogether. "Every attribute of a first cause exists in Him," says Vyasa, "but He is void of qualities." This may fairly be interpreted to mean that the physical attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence, &c., are allowed to Him, but not moral qualities, such as love, mercy, and benevolence; and we find it expressly stated that where such qualities are assigned to Him it is done merely to suit the Vedānta theology to the understanding of young beginners, and not under any impression that they actually exist in Him. Vyasa takes care explicitly to inform us that though on this point the text of the Veds themselves should be found contradictory, some enduing the creator with qualities of every character and others denying them to Him altogether, "the latter only are to be considered truly applicable, and not the former, nor yet both."

God is also spoken of by the Vedānta, in common with Buddhism, as being unconnected with His own creation, sitting aloof in a state of profound abstraction and inactive tranquillity, and enjoying unimpassioned blessedness "in the solitariness of His own unity." He is not an all-superintending and everwatchful agent, as the human mind naturally delights to regard Him; but as one unencumbered with the management of the world, and free from the cares and vexations of such a charge. In the *Sūta* Upanishad Sūta represents the Deity "like one asleep," and Krishna in the *Gīta* says: "these works (the universe) confine not me, for I am like one who sitteth aloof, uninterested in them all." The whole impressive theory of an uncreate, omnipotent, and everlasting God, the grandest delineations of His wisdom and infinity, are thus with one torpedo-touch completely deadened. Where stray texts vindicate his watchfulness it is only to be understood that like a mirror, He receives the shadows of all surrounding

objects. He is no more watchful than a passive mirror !

The creation of the universe Vedantism assigns to God. Everything that exists, says the Vedānta, was created by an act of His will ; and it declares that no motive need be assigned for such creation, besides that will. This is good so far as it goes ; but it does not go far enough for the purposes of a dignified monotheism. We are not to understand that God spake and it was done ; he commanded and it stood fast. No : dissatisfied with his own solitariness, He merely feels a desire to create worlds, and then the volition ceases so far as He is concerned, and He sinks again into His apathetic happiness, while the desire thus willed into existence assumes an active character. This desire is severally called *Māyā*, *Sakti*, and *Prācriti*, by different writers, and it is asserted that the universe was created by *Māyā* without the exertion of Brahmu. Says the *Māṇḍūkā* Upanishad : " God desired and willed, and forth issued his energy and from his energy proceeded life, minds, elements, worlds, duties, and their fruits." In the *Śvetāśvatārā* Upanishad this *Māyā* is represented as " one unborn, red, white, and black, creating many beings of the same forms, through delighting in whom one man is sunk in slumber, and by forsaking whose allurements another becomes immortal ;" and this is interpreted by Sancarācharjya to mean that *Māyā*, or the one unborn, possesses the qualities of impurity, purity, and darkness ; that creatures formed by it are accordingly either affectionate, wise, or ignorant ; and that whosoever delighteth in illusion remains immersed in darkness, but whosoever despises it and is able to distinguish the real nature of his soul obtains salvation. The Vedānta also represents *Māyā* as being that substance through which, or rather by means of which, the Deity, Himself lost in calm repose, catches all the phenomenon dependent upon the contemplation of the universe. This separation of energy from the Godhead is assuredly one of the boldest and obscurest conceptions ever hazarded by philosophy, and seems to have been adopted

to obviate the difficulty of reconciling the origin of material substances from a purely spiritual source. But this was like jumping from the frying pan into the fire, for it reduced all things in nature to mere phantasmagorian unrealities.

The first thing created by God, or rather produced by *Máyá*, was according to Vyasa, ether, or void space; as the word *ácás* has been differently translated. From ether was educed air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water earth. It was by the energy of God, and not by their own act, that they were thus educed; but they were made by *Máyá* and therefore had no actual existence. The position of *Máyá* itself is between something and nothing. It is both real and unreal; real, in as much as it is the cause of all that people usually look upon as real, but unreal because it exists not as a being. It is not true because it has no essence, and yet is not false because it exists as the power of God. In like manner the universe is real, because it appears to be so, but unreal because it is only an appearance. "From the highest state of Bruhmá to the lowest state of a straw all are delusions;" and they would vanish into nothing, each element merging into one another in the reversed order of education, if the energy of the great spirit, to which they owe their origin and which alone sustains the whole phenomenon, were for a moment to suspend its connection with them.

The same course of evolution and absorption however, cannot, says the Vedánta, be affirmed of the soul, for the soul is not one of the productions of *Máyá*. Life is the presence of the Deity in illusion; its emanation is no birth, nor original production. The body is mere illusion, and like all other illusions is created and dissolved; but neither its creation nor its dissolution affects the soul, for "the soul is not subject to birth or death." "It is not a substance of which it can be said it was; or is, or will be hereafter; for it is eternal and inexhaustible, and is incapable of perishing with the body." "That self-existent and eternal intelligence," thus speaks of it the *Katha Upanishad*, "who is neither born nor dies, and who

has neither proceeded from any nor changed into any, does not perish when the body perishes." It is also declared to be consubstantial with God. Says Vyasa : "All life is Bruhman ;" "he is soul and the soul is he ;" "all life is a portion of the Supreme Ruler as a spark is of fire." "Who standing on the earth is other than the earth," says Yagnawalca to Uddalaca, "whom the earth knows not, whose body the earth is, who interiorly restrains the earth, the same is thy soul and mine ;" and Vách, daughter of Ambhřina, speaking of herself, says : "I am above the heavens, beyond the earth, and what is the great one that am I." In the *Rig Ved* it is mentioned that the aggregate life of all beings in existence constitutes a *fourth* part of God. But the Vedánta does not recognise this calculation by rule and compass. It only declares that the divine spirit, though differing in degree, is the same in nature with that of all living beings. It does not mutilate the Deity ; for it maintains that individuated souls are portions parcelled without being actually cut off.

Human spirit then is the same as the spirit of God. "There is no difference," says Sadánanda, "between the Supreme Ruler and individual intelligences ;" "both are pure life ;" man and the Deity are essentially the same. In the Veds the soul is declared to be "uncreate" and "eternal," and in the *Gíta* Krishna tells Arjun that he and the other princes of the earth "never were not." This is not simply no return to pure monotheism ; it is the assertion of a no-existence in the universe of anything but God. It does not admit of the pantheistic interpretation which has been attempted by some writers to be given to it ; for the spirits of creatures, though declared to be uncreate and eternal, are not gods. The God of the Vedánta is *one* ; human spirit is not God ; the Deity though diversified in His creation is not exhausted in the act ; He still remains entire, and that entirety is God. Men partake of the divine nature but as sparks partake of the nature of fire ; they do not, either individually or collectively, represent the infinite whole, and the infinite whole alone is God. We would

also vindicate Vedantism from the charge of materialism advanced against it, that according to it God is matter as well as life. This is not so. God is indeed spoken of as the "efficient and material cause of the world," and as the "cause of all things as well as the things themselves"; but it is also maintained most directly that God is a spirit and immaterial, and wherever He is identified with matter he is only identified as its source. Actual matter, according to the Vedānta, does not exist; it was neither created by God, nor co-existing with God, nor God himself. All material substances are mere illusions, existing only because pervaded by the energy of the spiritual First Cause. This is exquisitely explained by Krishna in the *Gita*: "I am the moisture in the water, light in the sun and moon, sound in space, sweet-smelling savour in the earth, glory in the source of light: *in all things I am life.*" The connection of spirit with matter is very aptly exemplified by the instance of fire as existing in red-hot iron.

The soul being declared to be consubstantial with God, it was only one step further in error to aspire for its absorption with Him; and this opened out another wide field of metaphysical mysticism. It is here that Vedantism departs furthest from Buddhism, which, content with enfranchisement from an evil existence, does not presume to aspire to an intermixture with the Deity. Says the Vedānta "superior to nature is God, who is omnipresent and without material effects; by acquisition of whose knowledge man becomes extricated from ignorance and distress, and is absorbed into Him after death." "Learned men having reflected on the spirit of God extending over all movable and immovable creatures, are after death absorbed into the Supreme Being." "The knower of God becomes God." "As rivers flowing merge into the sea losing both name and form, so the knower of God, freed from name and form, merges in Him, the excellent and the glorious." This reunion with the Deity is identified with the attainment of the highest bliss, which even a state so high as that of Bruhmá does not afford; and it consists in the total loss of personal

identity, which has been well compared with a drop of water losing itself in the vast ocean: "Future happiness," says Vashista, "consists only in being so absorbed into the Deity, who is a sea of joy;" and therefore is the attainment of this absorption declared to be the sole business of life. It is not however to be obtained by penances and mortifications, nor by the performance of meritorious actions, "for works," says the text, "are not to be considered as a bargain;" and again, "the confinement of fetters is the same whether the chain be of gold or iron." Knowledge alone, and that knowledge only which realises every thing as Bruhmu, procures the liberation and absorption which comprise together the *ne plus ultra* of the Vedantist's aspiration. "He traverses both thereby," says the *Vrihad Aranyâkâ* Upanishad, "both merit and demerit." "The heart's knot is broken," says the *Mandakâ*; "all doubts are split, and all his works perish." The *Kâtha* Upanishad asserts that "there is no other way to salvation." "Oh Pârvatî!" exclaims the *Kûlarnava*, "except that knowledge there is no other way to absorption."

This was the religion of the Vedânta as Vyasa and his disciples understood and propagated it; this was the religion that was pitted against Buddhism to wean away philosophers from the enemy's ranks, while Pourânism undertook to wean away the mass. Like Buddhism, it also considered existence to be an evil, separation from which was to both the final reward. The method for obtaining release too was in both religions the same, namely, by *Buddhi* or knowledge. The use of the understanding was therefore held by both to be superior to the practice of deeds, for God was to be known only through the acute intellect constantly directed towards him by men of penetrating understandings. In the *Varuni* Upanishad, when Bhrigu asks his father Varuna to make known to him God, the sage tells him: "That spirit whence all beings are produced, that by which they live when born, that towards which they tend, and that into which they finally pass seek thou to know, for that is Bruhmu;" and "seek him," adds the philosopher.

"by profound meditation, for devout contemplation is Bruhmu." Perfect abstraction is next pronounced to be superior to the use of the understanding, for "when the senses and the mind are at rest," says the Vedānta, "and when the understanding is not occupied, that is the state for obtaining liberation;" and again, "when the Yogi renounces all assistance from the understanding; and remains without the exercise of thought, he is identified with Bruhmu, and remains as the pure glass when the shadow has left it." Though he is still connected with the affairs of life, though he still eats and drinks, he is henceforth indifferent to the illusions which encompass him, and lives destitute of passions and affections, neither rejoicing in good nor sorrowing in evil. He lives sinless; for, "as water wets not the leaf of the lotus, so sin touches not him who knows God;" and is such a state of perfection as to stand in no further need of virtue, for "of what use can be a winnowing fan when the sweet southern wind is blowing." All his meditations in this condition are: "I am Bruhmu; I am life;" "I am everlasting, perfect, perfect in knowledge, free from change; I am the self-existent, the joyful, the undivided, and the one Bruhmu:" or rather,—"Neither I am, nor is ought mine, nor do I exist;" "O God! I am nothing apart from thee."

But this knowledge of God is represented as excessively difficult of attainment; so difficult in fact, that in the very Upanishads the greatest scholars acknowledge their utter inability to secure it. "Whom dost thou worship?" asks Ushwapati in the Ch'handāgya Upanishad of the six inquirers after divine knowledge who came to him for instruction, and one answers "heaven," another the "sun," the third "air," the fourth "ether," the fifth "water," and the sixth the "earth." These were the answers, not of ignorant men unlearned in the scriptures, but of sages who were, to quote the language of the Upanishad, "deeply conversant with holy writ." In another place in the same Upanishad Nārada, soliciting instruction from Sanātsumār, says of his previous studies: "I have read the *Rig Ved*, the *Yajur Ved*, the *Sam Ved*,

the *Atharvân* the fourth, the *Itihâses*, and the *Purâns* xxx; all these have I studied, yet do I only know the text and have no knowledge of the soul." A religion so difficult was necessarily impracticable for the multitude, who besides being unread were begirt with illusion. "The mass of illusion," says the *Vedânta*, "forms the inconceivable and unspeakable glory of God," for it is through illusion that His power is made manifest. It is the mask with which the Deity covers Himself for His amusement, and "it is the producing cause of consciousness, of the understanding, of intellect, &c." But illusion as each individuated being feels it is merely the absence of wisdom as darkness is nothing more than the absence of light. From it are begotten all our passions and affections, and all the bonds that tether us to life; and on account of it only is the human soul, by some means not palpable, excluded from participating in the divine nature, and subject to virtue and vice, the passions and sensations, birth and death, and all the varied changes of this mortal state. It is this that makes a man believe that appearances have a real existence, that images and shadows are actual realities; and that not only this world really exists but that he himself is nothing more than what he appears. It is this that makes God and soul, though co-substantial with each other, appear as distinct "as light and shadow." As a small cloud before the eye, though insignificant in itself, is by its position large enough to hide the sun, even so does this illusion screen the great *Brhmu* from human understanding, and thus obstruct the attainment of that knowledge which alone can purchase our emancipation: And this was, necessarily, the position of the mass.

Apart from the seekers of knowledge therefore, were those who loved works of merit and performed them, in the vain hope of compassing the same end by a different way. "Knowledge and works both offer themselves to man, the wise chooses the first despising the second, while the fool for the sake of enjoyment accepts what leads to fruition." The path of the latter is de-

clared to be full of darkness, and it is also longer and more circuitous, since "actions performed under the influence of illusions are followed by eight millions of births." The only course left to the aspirant, in fact, is to ascend step by step the arduous ladder of improvement, commencing with the destruction of his sins, which secures to him a residence with the gods as his first reward. But in the heavens of the gods all enjoyment is temporary, and destined to terminate sooner or later as the deeds which they recompense may have been few or many. "All the regions between this (the earth) and the abode of Bruhmá, afford but a transient residence," says the *Gita*; and on its works being exhausted by enjoyment, the soul thus temporarily happy, returns again to the earth, but "with resulting influence of its former deeds," that is, obtaining a higher place in life than it had before. This state of constant transmigration gives to the lover of works a chance of obtaining the knowledge of Bruhmu, and, if it is attained, "having annulled by fruition other works which had begun to have effect, and having enjoyed the recompense and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, he, on the demise of the body, proceeds to a reunion with God;" while the unsuccessful candidate, whose devotions are broken off by the general destruction of the universe can only pass into a state of non-existence, not absorption, remaining liable to be reproduced at any future renovation of the world.

The final results of the Vedánta, thus explained, are so aimless and unsatisfactory that it is scarcely to be wondered at that its hold on the human heart was never very strong. Buddhism expelled from the country, and Vedantism so intricate to understand and so unstable to depend upon, what was left to the multitude but uncertainty and indecision? This fully accounts for their constant oscillation for ages between the different magnets that attracted them, and for the frequent revivals of the religions that were struck down, till rampant Pouránism levelled everything before it and acquired a complete mastery over the popular mind.

THE "GREAT" WARS OF INDIA.

XXXI.—THE WARS OF SIVÁJEE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

A. D. 1646 to 1700.

WE turn now to notice the great convulsions which were caused by the Mahrattas in the Deccan during the reigns of Sháh Jehán and Aurungzebe. The country of the Mahrattas is mentioned in the sacred books of the Hindus as Maháráshtra, whence the name of the people is derived ; but for a long time they were better known by the familiar designation of *Burgees*, which was almost synonymous to that of freebooters. They were not known at all as a political community till the time of Sivájee, the grandson of Málojee Bhonslá, who held a command of 5000 horse in the service of the Mahomedan Rájáh of Ahmednugger, and was particularly distinguished for his robberies. Like the rest of his family Sivájee imbibed an early love of adventure of the bandit type, and was suspected of sharing in all the more extensive depredations committed in the Concan. These practices and his hunting expeditions made him familiar with every path and defile throughout the Gháts, and also well acquainted with their wild inhabitants ; and with knowledge and adherents of this description he soon found fitting work for himself. He first acquired possession of a hill-fort, named Torná, on the southwest of Pooná, and then, usurping a *jaghire* which had been held by his father, Sháhjee, under the government of Beejápore, gradually extended his power. Finally, he found himself strong enough to revolt against Beejápore, and then, surprising the governor of North Concan, took possession of that country.

He now began to amplify his plans of aggrandisement, and, assassinating a Hindu Rájáh, who held the hilly country south of Pooná, from the Gháts to the Krishtná, seized upon his territory. When Aurungzebe, then prince,

came to the Deccan, in 1655, Sivájee affected to be a servant of the Mogul government, and, making his submission, obtained a confirmation of his possessions. He next murdered Afzul Khán, who was sent against him from Beejáporé, and then overran all the country near the Ghâts, and took possession of the hill-forts. The king of Beejáporé afterwards took the field against him in person, but was not able to remain there long; and, when peace was concluded with Sivájee, he was left in possession of all his conquests.

The troops of Sivájee already numbered 50,000 foot and 7000 horse, and he now ventured to seek open rupture with the Moguls and ravaged all the country up to Aurungábad. Shaistá Khán was sent to operate against him, and occupied Pooná; but Sivájee surprised him there at night, wounded him, cut to pieces his son and many of his attendants, and then ran off; after which he plundered Surát. The inroads into the Mogul dominions now became very frequent; but what exasperated Aurungzebe most was a maritime exploit by which some Mogul ships conveying pilgrims to Mecca were captured. A large army under Jai Sing was sent to chastise Sivájee for these offences; whereupon he hastened to surrender himself, professing the humblest contrition and fidelity.

Sivájee and his son Sambajee were now taken under escort to Delhi, under general promises of advancement in the imperial service; but the reception they received from Aurungzebe was so cold and haughty that the Mahratta chief was deeply chagrined, and, returning scorn for scorn, left the presence. It is said that the daughter of Aurungzebe betrayed a love for the daring adventure—and that Sivájee having demanded her hand was ordered out of the palace. Perceiving that his motions were watched, Sivájee met deceit by deceit, and at last contrived to escape together with his son, in hampers used for the conveyance of sweetmeats; after which he passed on to Mathoorá, and thence to the Deccan. Once more at large he did not cease to ply the Moguls with affected professions of fidelity; and obtained peace with Aurungzebe on very favorable terms,

the Emperor being equally anxious to quiet his suspicions. A large portion of the territory before held by him was now restored, a new *jaghire* was granted to him in Bebar, and his title of Rájáh was acknowledged.

After this Sivájee turned his arms on Beejáporé and Golcondá, both of which were compelled to pay tribute to him. He then gave his own people a regular government, and, though himself no better than a captain of banditti, introduced a system more strict and methodical than was known to the Moguls. Aurungzebe could not look on all this with apathy, and schemed earnestly to entrap him again; but Sivájee was too sagacious to be caught twice. A renewal of war was the necessary consequence, and Sivájee anticipated it by surprising Singhar, a place near Pooná, which had formerly belonged to him, and which he now recovered. He then ravaged the Mogul territories as far as Kándeish, and levied the *chòut*, or tribute of one-fourth of the revenue, on the people. An army of 40,000 men was sent by Aurungzebe under Mohábet Khán to put a stop to these incursions, and thoroughly reconquer the Deccan. But Sivájee, grown bold by success, did not hesitate to meet it on the open field, and defeated a large detachment of 20,000 men, after which Mohábet was recalled, Khán Jehán being appointed to succeed him.

But Khán Jehán was not strong enough to prosecute active hostilities against the Mahrattas; while Sivájee augmented his power still further by the conquest of Beejáporé, after which he was crowned king at Raighur. He had now for sometime made no depredations on the Mogul territories, and this, being imputed to weakness, encouraged the Moguls to enter and ravage the Mahratta country. They had soon reason to repent the act, for the Mahrattas retaliated by penetrating at once into Kándeish, Berár, and Guzerát, as far as Baroach, where they, for the first time, crossed the Nermudda. Aurungzebe was baffled and distracted by these incessant raids, as Sivájee, after devastating his fairest provinces, always succeeded in screening himself behind his inaccessible hills. At this time Sivájee also personally conducted an ex-

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pedition into the south of India ; and, taking the fortresses of Jinjee and Vellore, recovered a *jaghire* in Mysore which had belonged to his father.

Much embarrassment was caused to Sivájee after this by the desertion of his son Sambajee, who, having been punished by his father for his debaucheries, went over to the Moguls, and was played off by them against his father. But Sambajee was only too glad to return when he found Aurunzebe bent on keeping him a prisoner ; and, his son set at large, Sivájee freely indulged himself again and again in invading and laying waste the Mogul provinces. He was recalled from these expeditions by the Rájáh of Beejápure, to aid him against the Mogul general Delere Khán, who had laid siege to his capital. The assistance asked for was cordially rendered, and for it Sivájee received a large price, namely, all the territory between the Toomboodrá and the Krishtná, which materially augmented his power.

Having thus established the Mahratta kingdom Sivájee died in 1680, when Aurungzébe paid his memory a just tribute by exclaiming that "He was indeed a great general, and the only one who had the magnanimity to found a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India." His death gave rise to a contest for the throne between his two sons, Sambajee and Rájáram. At last Sambajee succeeded, and under him the Maharatta army attained a rapid increase of strength and power. But the chief himself soon got entangled in his debaucheries, by which the wealth of Sivájee was squandered and the fame of the Mahratta name tarnished. At this juncture Aurungzebe arrived personally in the Deccan, with the primary object of reducing Beejápure and Golcondá, and the secondary object of capturing Sambajee. Beejápure was first attacked by Prince A'zim, while Aurungzebe himself advanced to Ahmednugger. This gave Sambajee an opportunity to ravage the country in the Emperor's rear. The failure of A'zim compelled Aurungzebe to invest Beejápure in person, and the town being distressed for provisions was forced to yield, whereupon Aurungzebe

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destroyed it completely, and abolished the monarchy with Vandal rage. He had intermediately made peace with Golcondá, which was now broken without a pretext, except that the king was denounced as a protector of infidels. A brave defence of the place was made for seven months, after which it was betrayed, when it was destroyed in the same manner as Beejápure. The effect of these conquests was to liberate the Pátáns and mercenaries who had hitherto served the kings of Beejápure and Golcondá, and to compel them to join the Mahrattas or plunder on their own account; and this gave rise to a train of vexations and disasters which followed Aurungzebe to the grave. Sambajee, however, was early captured, having been surprized by one of the Mogul generals in one of his pleasure-houses, and was cruelly put to death by Aurungzebe for having exasperated him by his blasphemy.

The animosity of the Mahrattas was now raised to a high pitch; but the overwhelming force of Aurungzebe shut out all hopes of resistance for the time. The Emperor pressed his advantage by sending a detachment to besiege Raighur, where Sáhoo, the infant son of Sambajee, had been proclaimed king, with Rájáram for regent. The fortress, after holding out for some months, was taken; upon which Rájáram escaped to Jinjee, where he assumed the title of Rájáh himself, Sáhoo having become a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls. Thus did the Mahrattas create an internal quarrel for themselves, at the same time that they were sore beset by their external enemies. Aurungzebe despatched an army under Zulfikar Khán to reduce Jinjee; but all the Mahratta country rose up against the invaders, and harassed them by desultory operations under independent leaders. Zulfikar Khán was absolutely unable to do anything, and reported to the Emperor that his army was insufficient to invest, far less to reduce, a place so strong as Jinjee. A fresh army was thereupon sent under Prince Kámbaksh to co-operate with Zulfikar; but the generals fell out with each other, and no progress was made. The quarrel at last assumed such proportions

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that the prince was placed under restraint by Zulfikar, upon which Aurungzebe moved southward in person, expressing his total disapproval of Zulfikar's proceedings. Kámbaksh was released by Aurungzebe; but the sole command of the army was left with Zulfikar, a discontented chief who, to some extent, was also disaffected. He renewed the siege, but so protracted the operations as to raise the indignation of Aurungzebe; when, to avoid being recalled with disgrace, the capture of Jinjee was effected, but not till Rájárám had received fair time for escape. Shortly after Rájárám died, and was succeeded first by a son named Sivájee II, and afterwards by another son, named Sambájee II, both under the regency of his widow Tára Bye. Sahoo, the rightful rájá, was still a prisoner with the Moguls, and was not released till a later day, when A'zimóoshán and Báhádur Sháh contended for the throne.

XXII.—THE SUBSEQUENT MAHRATTA WARS.

A. D. 1700 TO 1720.

THE genius of Sivájee formed the Mahrattas into a nation. The persistent efforts of Aurungzebe and his successors to stamp them out animated them with one spirit, and made the nation powerful in spite of every opposition raised to prevent it. The death of Rájárám did not in any way affect the plan devised by Aurungzebe for reducing the country; and in four or five years he succeeded in capturing all the principal forts which had been held by the Mahrattas. But the entire nation was now banded together, and began to multiply as the Mogul armies began to decrease. Several detachments appeared under independent leaders, and, after defeating Zulfikar Khán in the Deccan, they spread over Málwá, and even entered Guzerát. Their predatory incursions were everywhere felt, as the towns were pillaged and the fields ravaged, and what could not be carried off was always

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burnt down. In a short time they began to recover the forts which the Moguls had taken from them; and the Mogul grand-army, reduced to the greatest distress, was at last obliged to retreat to Ahmednugger, in a state of complete exhaustion.

The opportune death of Aurungzebe at this moment still further aided the Mahratta cause, by bringing on a fierce contest for succession between the princes Moázzim and A'zim. A bloody battle decided the struggle in favour of the former, who succeeded under the title of Báhádur Sháh; but he had still to fight with Kámbaksh, who had intermediately revolted. When these troubles were ended, Báhádur Sháh proceeded deliberately against the Mahrattas, and commenced by taking up the side of Tára Bye and Sambajee II against Sáhoo, the rightful heir, who, hitherto a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls, had been set at liberty by Prince A'zim. But the national cause under Sáhoo was strongly maintained, and was eventually triumphant; and peace had to be concluded with him upon terms which permitted the levy of the *chout* by the Mahrattas in the Deccan, it being only stipulated that it should be collected by the agents of the Mogul government without the interference of the Mahrattas.

These conditions were subsequently evaded when Chin Kilich Khán succeeded to the government of the Deccan. The internal feud of the Mahrattas was still raging with great bitterness, and Kilich fomented it by helping the weaker side. But he was soon removed from his post, and was succeeded by Hossein Ali, when the wind veered again, and the Mahrattas taking the offensive, ravaged the Mogul territories as they had done before, and seizing upon villages within Mogul limits, turned them into sallying centres whence they plundered the adjoining districts. A strenuous effort was made by the Mogul Government to repress these inroads, and a strong detachment was sent to oppose Dabári, the principal leader of the Mahrattas, who retreated before it in regular Mahratta fashion, dispersing his forces in small parties in the hilly country, to re-unite again wherever

the Mogul army found it most difficult to re-assemble in strength. The result was that the Mogul detachment was cut up, not even one person being allowed to escape till he was stripped of his horse, arms, and cloths. This virtually terminated the Mahratta war. The Moguls were now only too glad to come to terms, and Hossein Ali concluded a treaty acknowledging Sáhoo's right over the whole territory formerly possessed by Sivájee, with the addition of all later conquests. He further restored to him all the forts which the Moguls had taken and had not yet given back; recognized the right of the Mahrattas to levy *chout* over the whole of the Deccán; and engaged, on behalf of the Mogul Government, to make a further payment of one-tenth of the revenue under the name of *Sirdesmuki*. In return Sáhoo agreed to pay a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, and to furnish a contingent of 15,000 horse to preserve the tranquillity of the country. The treaty was so disgraceful that Ferokshere refused to ratify it; but, ratified or not, the Mahrattas were quite able to enforce the concession they had extorted.

The subsequent consolidation of the Mahratta power was effected by Bálájee Viswánáth, the minister of Sáhoo, and the founder of the Bráhmaṇ dynasty of the Peishwás; a title previously created by Sivájee himself. After the death of Ferokshere, Bálájee obtained from Mahomed Sháh the ratification of the treaty concluded by Hossein Ali, while he also destroyed all opposition to Sáhoo's authority by the adherents of Sambajee II. For these services Bálájee was made Peishwá, and, being succeeded in the office by an able son, Bájee Ráo I, the Mahratta power was by them thoroughly consolidated. Sáhoo's right over the whole of the Mahratta country was now acknowledged even by Sambajee II, who agreed to become rájáḥ of Kolápore, which, with the adjacent country, was made over to him.

XXXIII.—RISE OF THE SIKH POWER IN THE PUNJAB.

A. D. 1709 TO 1716.

THE most important event of the reign of Bábádur Sháh was the development of the Sikh community, which led to a war with the Punjáb. The original appearance of this people was as a religious sect, not seeking any political position or authority. Its founder was Nának, a disciple of Kabir, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, and maintained that the worship of God was not affected by the distinctions of race and creed, and that necessarily the devotions of the Hindu and the Mahomedan were equally efficacious. This universal toleration contributed very much to increase the number of his followers, which in time attracted the notice of the Mahomedan Government, by whom the eighth *guru* in succession was persecuted and put to death, in the reign of Jehángire. Baptised in blood the Sikhs, who had hitherto been very inoffensive, now changed their character; and, taking up arms under Hur Govind, their ninth *guru*, gave much trouble to their rulers, till they were eventually expelled from the neighbourhood of Láhore and kept confined within the northern mountains.

In the seventeenth century Guru Govind, the grandson of Hur Govind, formed them into a religious and military commonwealth, and laid down for their guidance a religious and lehal code. They continued, as before, to admit all converts without reference to race distinctions; but each convert had now to take the vow of a soldier and adopt a soldier's life. The followers of Guru Govind thus came daily to increase in hardihood; but, being still unequal to the Mahomedans, were, after a long struggle, defeated by them, while all their strongholds were captured. The mother and children of Guru Govind were killed by the victors, and his misfortunes so told on him that he was at last obliged to accept a small command in the Mogul service.

Guru Govind was murdered by a private enemy; but his religious belief survived him. In the reign of

Báhádur Sháh the chief of the Sikhs was Bandu, an ascetic, who called upon his followers to come out of their retreat, and overran the east of the Punjáb, committing the greatest atrocities. The Mahomedan mosques were destroyed and the mooláhs butchered; whole towns were massacred, including women and children; and the dead bodies everywhere were cast to birds and beasts of prey, to be devoured. Grown bolder by these depredations they even ventured to attack the governor of Sirhind, and defeated him in a pitched battle, after which they passed eastward as far as Sáhárunpore, their entire route being marked by blood. At this last place they received a check, which obliged them to fall back upon the country beyond the Sutledge, between Loodiáná and the mountains; but, unable to remain idle long, they again appeared to ravage the country on the one side up to Láhore, and on the other as far as Delhi. This last inroad drew out Báhádur Sháh in person against them; and he succeeded in driving them back with great slaughter to their hills, while Bandu, who sought refuge in a fort, was vigorously besieged. The fort was eventually taken; but, a desperate sally having been made by the garrison, Bandu effected his escape. A detachment was now especially employed to watch the Sikhs, and their depredations were in this way checked to some extent for a time.

They again mustered strong in the reign of Ferokshere, when Bandu was able to defeat the imperial troops, and ravaged the same extent of country as before. An army was sent against them under Abdoos Summud, by whom they were repeatedly defeated, and Bandu and his chief adherants made prisoner. These were paraded through the streets all the way to Delhi, and were there cruelly put to death—Bandu being torn to pieces with hot pincers. The rest were hunted down everywhere like wild beasts; and this deferred the consolidation of the Sikh power to a later era. Under the house of Timour the Sikhs never flourished to the same extent as they did after its decline, during which eventful period, in the general scramble for

power among all comers, they formed themselves into a great nation, and established an independent kingdom. This career of aggrandisement was opened by a chief named Charat Sing, was pursued with still greater success by his son Mahá Sing, and was finally completed by the great Runjeet.

XXXIV.—THE INVASION OF NA'DIR SHA'H.

A. D. 1738-39.

THE death of Báhádur Sháh was followed by a civil contest between his four sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the throne under the title of Jehándar Sháh. After a reign of eighteen months he was deposed in favor of his nephew, Perokshere, who reigned six years. Then followed the brief reigns of Refia-ad-Derjât and Refia-ad-Dowlâ, the first of three months and the second of a few days; after which Mahomed Sháh, the grandson of Báhádur, was made king. During these dissensions the imperial power was very much curtailed, the governors of provinces assuming independence; among whom were Asiph Jáh, the Viceroy of the Deccan, who had assumed the name of Nizám-al-moolk, and Sâdat Ali Khán, the Governor of Oude. The Mahrattás also extended their conquests and tributary exactions in northern and western Hindustán, and, founding the houses of Scindia, Holkár, and the Guicowár, carried their depredations to the very gates of Agra.

The confusion throughout the period was so great that the authority exercised by the crown, even where it was acknowledged, was virtually nominal. This was observed by Nádir Kooli, otherwise called Nádir Sháh, the greatest warrior of Persia, who was at this moment engaged in repressing the Ghiljis of Afghánistán, and in reconquering Kandahár from them. It is said that he was invited over to India by the disaffected omráhs of Delhi, among whom was Nizám-al-moolk, who expected to secure for himself the Viceroyalty of India under the

Persian throne. The plea of the invasion was the indifference of the Court of Delhi to the request of Nádir for the seizure or expulsion from India of some Afghán chiefs who had fled thither from Ghazni. It was the plea of the wolf against the lamb, for the Indian Government, even if it had wished it, was not strong enough to comply with the demand. Nádir also complained that a special envoy sent by him with the above representation had, with his whole retinue of chiefs and followers, been killed by the governor of Jellálábád. But this complaint was also idle, because the governor of Jellálábád was, at this time, virtually independent of the puppet-sovereign of Delhi.

The invader commenced his march from Kandahár via Kábool, Jellálábád, and Peshawár, at the head of an army estimated by some at 160,000, and by others at 70,000 men. All opposition on the route was easily overcome by him, and the Indus crossed by the end of 1738. Mahomed Sháh moved to Karnál to oppose him with an army of 150,000 horse and some irregular infantry, and was there joined by Sádát Khán, one of the conspirators against his authority, with 30,000 men. An attempt on the part of the Persians to intercept Sádát Khán and his forces brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. The Mogul army was divided into three bodies and extended a great length on the field, which gave to Mahomed Sháh an assurance of victory. But Nádir was used to greater odds, had a contempt for the enervated soldiers of India, and was besides certain of traitors in the Indian camp. He was therefore very far from being disheartened at the opposition which had been improvised. The attack was commenced by the Persians with wild impetuosity; but, a spirited resistance being offered, the first shock was equally violent on both sides. Dówrán, the general of Mahomed Sháh, was well skilled in the art of war, and kept his ground with an obstinacy by which Nádir was all but defeated. But, unfortunately for the Mogul army, Dowrán was soon killed, and then everything

was quickly thrown into confusion, both by treachery and despair. The loss of the Moguls was so great that Mahomed, though still unsubdued, put the best face on the matter and hastened to throw himself on the clemency of the invader, preferring to trust an open enemy than the specious friends by whom he was surrounded. He was received by Nádir with great courtesy, and assured that it was not his intention to deprive him of the throne of his ancestors. Nádir's only demands were that the expenses of the expedition be paid, and time given to his fatigued army to refresh themselves in Delhi. The army accordingly marched into Delhi and occupied it, every precaution being taken by Nádir for the preservation of discipline among them, and for the protection of the people.

The compensation in money asked for was twenty-five crores of rupees; and this had to be raised by the magistrates by a general tax proportioned to the wealth of each inhabitant. Great general dissatisfaction was the consequence, which was further increased by an outbreak of famine caused by all communication with the country having been cut off. A petty squabble for rice and fowl between the dealers and some Persian soldiers increased to a quarrel, upon which the dealers, being forcibly deprived of their articles, gave out that Nádir had ordered a general pillage; and, when some of the inhabitants proclaimed afterwards that Nádir was dead, the hatred of the mob broke forth in full fury, and several of the Persian soldiers were killed. Nádir, attempting to quell the tumult, was assailed with stones, arrows, and firearms from the houses, and one of the chiefs who accompanied him was killed by a pistol-shot, at his side. This enraged him so much that he ordered the cavalry to clear the streets, and the musketeers to scour the terraces and commence a general massacre of the inhabitants. The order was rigidly carried out, and it is said that some 100,000 or 150,000 persons were slain, Nádir passing the time in gloomy silence in the little mosque of Rohn-u-Dowlá. His countenance was

so dark and terrible that none ventured to approach him, till at last Mahomed Sháh, accompanied by some of his omráhs, took courage to present themselves. Nádir sternly asked them what they wanted; upon which Mahomed Sháh burst into tears, while the nobles with once voice beseeched him to spare the city. The open sword in his hand was now sheathed. "For the sake of the prince Mahomed I forgive," exclaimed Nádir, and so perfect was the discipline of his army that the order stopping the massacre was at once obeyed.

But the hands that were forbidden to slay were not prohibited to rob: Nádir's sole object in coming to India was to enrich himself and his followers, and the pillage of the city was leisurely continued. All the wealth in the imperial treasury, the peacock-throne, the royal ward-robe and armoury were seized upon; the wealth of the great nobles was next as freely appropriated; and, last of all, contributions were levied from the people with every species of cruelty. Great numbers of the inhabitants succumbed under the effects of the usage they received; people suspected of concealing their wealth were brutally tortured; and many died with their own hands to avoid insult and misery. The gates of the city were shut during these days of outrage and oppression, and famine added poignancy to the other afflictions suffered by the inhabitants. An actor now came forward and exhibited a play which tickled the fancy of the invader. "What dost thou want to be done for thee?" enquired Nádir of the playwright. "Oh king! command the gates to be opened that the poor may not perish"; and that which the tears and groans of the multitude could not extort, was conceded to the request of a buffoon.

Nádir marched out of Delhi after a residence in it of fifty-eight days, carrying with him spoils amounting in money to nine millions sterling, besides several millions in gold, silver, and jewellery. Large territorial concessions were also made to him, including Kábool, Táttá, and part of Mooltán. Before retiring from India he is

said to have spat on the beards of two of the great chiefs who had betrayed their country by inviting him, namely, the Nizám-al-moolk and Sádat Ali. They resolved to kill themselves and wipe out the insult; and Sádat Ali actually did so. But the Nizám, the colder villain of the two, survived both his disgrace and his rival, to found the independent sovereignty of Hyderábád in the Deccan. Another account says that Sádat Khán killed himself, because Nádir had spoken to him in terms of great severity about the collection of the *peishcush* demanded by him from the merchants.

The exit of the invader from India was marked by scenes of devastation and misery as fearful as those which had distinguished his onward course. He characterized himself correctly when he said that he had been sent by God against the nations whom He had determined to visit in His wrath.

XXXV.—THE BATTLE OF PA'NIPUT.

A. D. 1761.

THE Mahrattás attained the zenith of their power during the administration of Bálá Ráo, the son of Bájée Ráo I. The power of Nádir Sháh had struck Bájée Ráo with amazement, and, after the retreat of the invader, he determined so to consolidate the Mahrattá power as to make it the first in India. The same policy was followed by his successor Bálá Ráo, and between them two they succeeded in organizing a large, well-paid, and well-mounted army, in the place of the predatory bands which had hitherto represented the Mahrattá power. To this army was added a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls, and, the whole authority of the nation being now wielded by the Pershwá, it was soon felt by the surrounding states to be virtually irresistible. The frontiers of the Mahrattá empire came thus to be extended to the Himáláyás on the north and the Indus on the northwest, and nearly to the extremity of the peninsula

on the south, all the territory within these limits which did not actually belong to them being forced to pay tribute. The reign of the Moguls had already become nominal; it was tolerated only on payment of the *chout*: and it would in a few years have been altogether set aside but for the appearance of a fresh foreign enemy, with whom the Mahomedans hastened to make common cause in defence of their existence.

This foe was A'hmed Sháh Dooráni, a general of Nádir, whom he succeeded as king of Kábool, Táttá, and Mooltán. Five distinct expeditions were conducted by him into India. The first was undertaken in 1747, and contemplated the conquest of the Punjáb. It was resisted vigorously by his namesake A'hmed, the heir-apparent of Delhi; and a disastrous accident—the explosion of a magazine—having occurred in the Afghán camp, the Dooráni chief was compelled to draw off his troops and retire. The second invasion was attempted in 1749; but on this occasion the invader was bought off by the governor of Mooltán, who offered him the revenue of four districts in the Punjáb, which he accepted. The bribe, however, was not sufficient to satisfy him long; and a third invasion in 1751 resulted in the formal conquest and annexation of the Punjáb.

Shortly after this the emperor A'hmed was deposed and blinded by Gházioodeen, the grandson of Asiph Jáh, who now swayed the destinies of the empire as Vizier, and by whom a grandson of Báhadúr Shah was raised to the throne, under the name of Alungire II. Not content with this Gházioodeen also seized by deceit the person of the Dooráni governor of the Punjáb, in the hope of reannexing that province to the empire; and this led to the fourth invasion of India by A'hmed Sháh, in 1754, and to the occupation of Delhi. All the horrors of Nádir's invasion were repeated on this occasion, mainly because A'hmed, less cruel than Nádir, had not the same command over his troops, and could not prevent them from giving full exercise to their rapacity and violence. The place which suffered most was Delhi, and

next to it Mathoorá, where, during the height of a religious festival, a general massacre was made, in which a large number of inoffensive people were slain. An extension of operations in the direction of Oude and Agra was contemplated, but a mortality breaking out among the Afgháns enforced their retreat.

The retreat of A'hmed Dooráni brought no peace to Delhi, as it restored to it all its internal feuds and disturbances. The invader had appointed Nujeeb-al-Dowlá, a Rohillá chief, commander-in-chief of the empire, intending that he should act as a counterpoise to the power of Gházioodeen; but the latter upset the whole arrangement by calling in the Mahrattás to assist him. This was just the introduction the Mahrattás were waiting for. They advanced upon Delhi with alacrity to support the vizier, laid siege to the town and took it, and compelled Nujeeb-al-Dowlá to fly. They then proceeded to the Punjáb and recovered possession of it, and concerted with Gházioodeen a plan for the conquest of Oude.

The last scheme was frustrated by the fifth invasion of A'hmed Sháh, in 1760; and further confusion was created by the simultaneous murder of A'lumgíre II by Gházioodeen. Sháh A'lumí, the heir apparent, was then absent in Bengal, and the operations against the Afgháns were therefore carried on without any ostensible head to direct them. Very little in fact was done by the Moguls to oppose the invaders; and A'hmed Sháh again occupying Delhi laid the city under heavy contributions, the collection of which was enforced with such rigour and cruelty that the inhabitants took up arms in despair. This led to another massacre which lasted for seven days, after which the stench of the dead compelled the invaders to retire.

They now proceeded against the Mahrattás, who were nearly 30,000 strong in Upper India, but divided into two bodies located at a distance from each other, and commanded separately by Jánokijee Scindia and Mulhár Ráo Holkár. The hatred of the people towards the Mahrattás kept them in such ignorance of the move-

ments of the Dooráni that both the divisions were successively surprised by him, defeated, and almost wholly destroyed.

The ruler of the Mahrattás at this time was Bálá Ráo, who led an easy life, the affairs of government being managed by Sudáseo Bháo, his home-minister and commander-in-chief in the Deccan. The conquest of Hindustán having been determined upon by him, the operations had been entrusted to Raghoonáth Ráo, commonly called Rághobá, aided by Mulbár Ráo and Jánokijee Scindia acting under him. They had been so far successful that several conquests were made and *chout* in all places enforced; but the army under Rághobá falling into arrears of pay, became mutinous, which compelled him to return to the Deccan. The management of Rághobá was thereupon adversely criticised by the Bháo, a Mahratta army being always expected to find its own pay; and, as Rághobá resented the remarks levelled against him, the return expedition into Hindustán had to be commanded by the Bháo himself, who carried Viswas Ráo, the son of Bálá Ráo, with him as nominal commander.

Ahmed Sháh Dooráni was cantoned on the banks of the Ganges when he heard of the advance of Sudáseo Bháo; and, as the Mahrattás made no secret of their wish to conquer the whole of Hindustán and extirpate the Mahomedans, he was there joined, not only by Nujeéb-al-Dowlá, but by all the Pátán and Rohillá chiefs, with their forces. Even the Nawáb of Oude, hitherto the least favorably disposed towards Ahmed Sháh, was prevailed upon by Nujeeb-al-Dowlá to join the Dooráni cause, on the plea that it would be improper for him as a Mahomedan either to join the Mahrattás in their war against the Mahomedans, or to remain indifferent: and thus the cause of Ahmed Sháh became as that of the Mahomedans against the Hindus, the war assuming the character of one for nationality and faith.

The Bháo, on his side, was joined by Surya Mul, the chief of the Játs, who brought a reinforcement of 30,000

men; but Sudāseo exercised his authority so offensively that not only Surya Mul, but even his own Mahrattá generals, were very soon disgusted with his Bráhmaṇ pride. The advice of both Mulhár Ráo and Surya Mul was that the operations against the Afgháns be confined at the outset simply to harassing them in the usual Mahrattá fashion, till the return of the hot weather compelled them to retire of themselves, leaving an easy conquest to the Mahrattás. But the Bháo, being anxious to obtain reputation as a warrior, rejected the suggestion with haughtiness, remarking tauntingly of Mulhár Ráo that he had outlived his activity and understanding, and of Surya Mul that he was only a zemindár from whom greater courage was not to be expected. Surya Mul was so angry that he wished to desert at once; but Mulhár Ráo dissuaded him from doing so, at the same time that he despised to resent the insult offered to himself.

Agra was first occupied by Sudāseo Bháo, and after it Delhi, the latter being retained as the capital on which the throne of the Mahrattás was to be established. The Afgháns simultaneously occupied Anupshuhur. Affecting a moderation he did not actually entertain, the Bháo now proposed to settle differences amicably, and offered the Dooránis all the country between Afghánistán and Láhore, if they would march back to their own country in peace, leaving the rest of Hindustán to be occupied by the Mahrattás. But the offer was not an honest one, and nothing came of the negotiations, as neither party would agree to the sovereign name being arrogated by the other.

From Anupshuhur the united Afghán and Moslem army marched out to Sháh-derá, on the banks of the Jumna, but found the river to be impassable during the rains. The total strength of the army amounted to 41,800 horse and 38,000 foot, with 70 or 80 pieces of cannon and a great number of rockets. There was also a large number of irregulars attached to the camp, who accompanied it mainly for plunder. The Hindu army was somewhat less numerous, counting 55,000 horse and

15,000 foot, with 200 pieces of cannon and rockets. It included 15,000 Pindáris, or freebooters, who were led by their own chiefs, and two or three thousand horse headed by the Ráhtore and Gutchwá vakeels.

As soon as the river fell, the Sháh's army began to cross the Jumna between fording and swimming over it, and it took the men two days for all to pass over. Had the Bháo boldly attacked them at this juncture he would probably have defeated them. But he did not do so, contenting himself by merely moving forward to meet them. For sometime after there was nothing but skirmishing, till the Mahrattás came up to Pániput and entrenched themselves. The Sháh, doubting his ability to attack them, followed their example, encamping at about eight miles from them, where he also entrenched himself. The precautions taken by the two parties were however very dissimilar. Unlike Mahrattá fashion generally, Sudáseo Bháo dug a ditch fifty feet wide and twelve feet deep around his camp, and raised a rampart which was mounted with cannon; while the Sháh simply surrounded his camp with a breast-work of prostrate timber. An attempt was made at this stage to cut off the supplies of the Sháh's army, but was entirely defeated. The Mahrattás succeeded better in the bold attacks they made every now and then against the Afghán camp. In one of these the Holkár, at the head of 15,000 horse broke into the midst of the Afghán entrenchment and cut down 2000 men; in another Bulwant Ráo assailed the Abdáli's vizier in the open field, and 3000 of the Rohillás who came to the rescue fell before Bulwant was slain. But these petty advantages were more than made up by the vigilance with which the Sháh watched his enemies, who were so beset that a great scarcity of provisions and forage was soon felt in their camp, which in a manner compelled the Bháo to commence the fight. The armies were drawn up in divisions, the Mahrattá divisions being eight in number, namely, those under (1) Ibrahim Khán Gardee, (2) Amájee Guicowár, (3) Seo Deo Pátul, (4) Sudáseo Bháo and Viswas Ráo, (5)

Jeswant Ráo Poár, (6) Shumsere Báhádoor, (7) Mulhár Ráo, and (8) Jánokijee Scindia. The Dooráni divisions were eleven, namely, those under (1) the Sháh himself, (2) Berkhardár Khán, (3) A'meer Beg, (4) Doondy Khán, (5) Háfiz Ráhmút Khán, (6) A'hmed Khán Bungaish, (7) the Grand-Vizier, (8) the Nawáb of Oude, (9) Nujeeb-al-Dowlá, (10) Sháh Pussúnd Khán, and (11) the division of the Persian musketeers. The action was commenced by Ibrahim Khán Gardee attacking the divisions of Doondy Khán and Háfiz Ráhmút Khán. Ibrahim was well supported by A'májee Guicowár, and the contest was obstinate till the Rohillás prevailed. The Bháo and Viswas Ráo next charged the grand-vizier, while Nujeeb-al-Dowlá was opposed by his mortal enemy, Jánokijee Scindia. After this the action became general, and great prodigies of valor were displayed on both sides. The close and violent attack lasted for nearly an hour, during which the combatants on both sides fought promiscuously with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. "Hur! Hur! Mahádeo!" was the Mahrattá cry of defiance; and terribly was it answered by the fanatic cry of "Deen! Deen!" which we, in our day, have so often heard in India. At last Viswas Ráo was killed, upon which the whole Mahrattá army was so dissipated that it fled at full speed from the field, leaving on it heaps of the slain. A'hmed Sháh rode round the field the following morning and counted thirty-two heaps of the dead, besides which all ditches and jungles around it, and to a considerable distance from it, were full of them. The chiefs who escaped destruction were Mulhár Ráo, Amájee Guicowár, and Seo Deo Pátul. Holkár alone, it was thought, did not put forth his whole strength in the fight, because of the insults he had received from the Bháo. He left the field just after the Bháo had pierced into the thickest of the fight, where he made amends for every misbehaviour and mistake by dying a soldier's death, his headless trunk being found hacked with innumerable wounds. The superior generalship of Holkár enabled him to extricate

his party when all was lost, and to fly without being pursued. The Maḥrattá power was by this defeat completely broken for the time, though not altogether annihilated; while the Mogul power was both broken and extinguished for ever, its vast territories being split up into petty states. At a later period the Mahrattás were again able to recover Delhi for Sháh A'lum; but not long after he fell into the hands of Golám Kádir, a Rohillá, by whom he was blinded. Again was Delhi taken by the Mahrattás under Scindia, and the person of Sháh A'lum secured, which enabled them to arrogate the supreme authority in India, till Delhi was taken by the English in 1803, and the farce finally terminated.

XXXVI.—THE STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH.

A. D. 1746 TO 1761.

THE English settlement of Madrâspátám, or Madras, on the Coromandel Coast, was founded, with the permission of the king of Golcondá, in 1639. The French settlement of Pondicherry was of later growth, having been originally founded at Alamparva in 1678, and afterwards more vigorously established at Pondicherry in 1683. As the distance between the rival settlements was about one hundred miles only, it was not very long before the two nations found themselves involved in perpetual contests with each other in the east as in the west, till one of them had to go to the wall.

Their first great contest occurred in 1746, when, war having been declared between them in Europe, a French fleet under Labourdonnais attacked the British settlement and forced it to capitulate. The troops landed by the French were little short of 2000 men, while the English garrison counted 200 soldiers only, besides a piebald population of Portuguese Indians, Syrian Christians, and Jews, all quite unaccustomed to arms. The governor therefore thought best to surrender after a

bombardment of five days; upon which the French Admiral agreed to ransom both the town and his prisoners for a compensation of 100,000 pagodas. This agreement however, did not find favor with Monsieur Dupleix, the French Governor at Pondicherry, who claimed supreme authority over all French affairs in India; and, declaring it to be invalid, he forcibly held the garrison—which included Clive—as prisoners, and also plundered the settlement.

The English still possessed the settlement of Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast, and the agents of the East India Company there being found to be active and alert in the furtherance of English interests, Dupleix resolved to close the rival shop by attacking it, and sent against it a European force of 1700 men. The English garrison at the place was only 300 strong; but they defended themselves vigorously to escape the fate of Madras, and obtained the aid of the Nawáb of the Carnatic in repelling their enemies. The position of the native princes in southern India at this time was as follow: A great part of India, we have elsewhere stated, never acknowledged any subjection to the throne of Delhi till the reign of Aurungzebe, and even at and after that period Bengal and the Deccan were virtually independent, being governed by viceroys who exercised all but absolute powers. The viceroy of the Deccan especially, was semi-independent, and held seven large provinces under him to which he appointed Nawábs, or subordinate rulers; and the Carnatic was one of these provinces.

The Nawáb of the Carnatic assisted the English with 10,000 men; and the French were obliged to retreat before them. But the friends thus gained were soon bought over by Dupleix, and changed sides; and, a demonstration made on Pondicherry by an English fleet under Admiral Boscawen proving unsuccessful, the English had to succumb with a bad name—their prestige being lost for the time with the native states. There is no doubt that, at this time, the English might have been

driven out of India for good by the French, if the latter had not been influenced in their operations by the events in Europe. Madras was recovered by the English only in consequence of the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

The simultaneous death shortly after of the Nawáb of the Carnatic and the Subadár or Viceroy of the Deccan, under whom the Nawábship was held, gave rise to considerable confusion in the native states, which again placed the English and the French in opposition to each other. The dominions of the Nawáb were seized on his death by one Chundá Sáheb, a relative of the family, to the exclusion of Mahomed A'li, the rightful heir; while the Subadárship of the Deccan was contended for by a son and a grandson of the deceased viceroy, named respectively, Názir Jung and Mozuffer Jung. Of these latter rivals Mozuffer Jung befriended Chundá Sáheb, and was supported by the French; upon which the English took up the side of Názir Jung and Mahomed A'li.

A mutiny in the French army depriving Mozuffer Jung of its support for a time, Názir Jung at first became Subadár of the Deccan, and Mahomed A'li, Nawáb of the Carnatic. But this arrangement was upset on the English quarrelling with Mahomed A'li about the payment of their troops, advantage of which was taken by the French to attack both Mahomed A'li and Názir Jung, and the latter being murdered by one of his own chiefs, Mozuffer Jung became Subadár, and Chundá Sáheb Nawáb of the Carnatic. Dupleix was, at the same time, declared governor of Southern India, from Cape Comorin to the Kristná River, besides which he was appointed to the command of 7000 horse under the Subadár, which was accounted as one of the highest honors that could be conferred by the latter.

The success of the French filled the English with envy; and the desperate affairs of Mahomed A'li rendering him open to a renewal of alliance with him, they volunteered to assist him in the defence of Trichinopoly, where he was hard-pressed by the forces of Chundá

Sáheb and the French. But the assistance given was not of much value ; the English soldiers behaved in an exceedingly unEnglish and even cowardly manner ; they actually deserted their native allies, who were left to do battle alone. The result was a signal defeat, and retreat within the walls of Trichinopoly for safety, the siege of it being continued by the French. The conduct of the siege was not very vigorous ; but, such as it was, the English had neither enterprise nor courage to withstand it.

It was now that the genius of Clive appeared on the scene. He had intermediately got transferred from the civil to the military service of the Company, and now came forward with the bright idea of relieving Trichinopoly by a diversion, and with that object offered to lead an expedition direct to Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. The offer was accepted, and he was placed at the head of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoy, and with this small force succeeded in capturing both the town and citadel of Arcot, notwithstanding all the endeavours made by Chundá Sáheb and the French to prevent him. He was then, in his turn, besieged by the French and their allies with a large army of 150 Europeans and 9000 native troops ; but he made a gallant defence for fifty days, after which the contest was terminated in favor of the weaker party, the stronger being obliged to raise the siege.

Clive now took the field at the head of 200 Europeans and 700 sepoy. A European party was sent out from Pondicherry against him, but was defeated at Arni ; after which he attacked the great pagoda of Conjeveram, where the French maintained a considerable garrison, which was forced to fly. By this time Arcot had been re-occupied by Chundá Sáheb and the French, who extended their raids thence into the territory of the English. Clive therefore repaired to it again, but was held in check by a furious cannonade on his advanced guard, upon which he determined to seize the enemy's artillery, and succeeded in doing so by boldly surprising it behind a thick grove of mango-trees, which so disheartened Chundá Sáheb and his army that they were entirely dispersed.

The next expedition was directed against the French and Chundá Sáheb before Trichinopoly. It was commanded by Major Lawrence in chief, with Clive as second in command; and was fully successful, the French and their allies being obliged to raise the siege, and to remove to the island of Seringham, in the Cauvery. The English forces were now divided into two bodies, one of which remained at Trichinopoly under Major Lawrence, while the other under Clive proceeded to cut off the communication between Pondicherry and Seringham. An attempt made from Seringham to prevent this was signally defeated; the French at Trichinopoly were also worsted; and, Chundá Sáheb being captured and assassinated by the Rájáh of Tanjore, Mahomed Ali was reseatd on the *musnud* of Arcot. The English also gained a victory at Báhoor, two miles from St. David, and reduced two forts, named Covelong and Chingleput.

In 1753, a second campaign was opened by Dupliex setting up another rival to Mahomed Ali in Murtezá Khán, the Governor of Vellore. The French army that took the field in support of the new claimant was composed of 500 European infantry and 60 horse, and 2000 sepoys, aided by 4000 Mahrattá cavalry under Moirári Ráo, independent of the large forces still operating before Trichinopoly. The army under Major Lawrence consisted of 500 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and 3000 of the Nawáb's forces; out of which 700 sepoys were employed in searching for supplies. The French force was shortly after still further increased by the addition of large reinforcements from Mysore; and the early operations of Major Lawrence were, for these reasons, generally unsuccessful, though distinguished by exceptional acts of great valor, such as the capture of the "Golden Rock" by the British Grenadiers, notwithstanding that it was occupied by the bulk of the French army. Throughout the contest the provisioning of Trichinopoly was the principal object held in view by the British commander, and this was fully effected notwithstanding that the siege was protracted for a year and a half. When he was afterwards reinforced he was able also to take Wycondáh,

a place of great strength. But more decisive advantages were not obtained by either party in this campaign.

In 1754, Mons. Godlien was sent out from France to supersede Dupliex and terminate hostilities with the English. This led to the siege of Trichinopoly being raised, and to the cessation of all acts of unfriendliness on both sides; and the interval was usefully employed by the English in straightening their affairs in Bengal, where the battle of Plassey was fought in 1757. Intermediately, war was again declared between the two countries in Europe, in 1756; and it was recommenced in the Carnatic in the spring of 1757, when Trichinopoly being besieged by the French, Capt. Calliaud relieved it with great skill and heroism, compelling an army five times as numerous as his own to raise the siege and retire to Pondicherry. It was at this time that Count Lally (an Irishman, and one of the victors at Fontenoy) was sent out as Governor-General of the French possessions in India, bringing out with him a strong fleet and a fresh body of land forces, mostly Irish—who had fought under him at Fontenoy. This infused new vigor among the French, and an army of 2,500 Europeans was collected, the most formidable that India had yet seen. Fort St. David was now invested and captured, and that was followed by the reduction of Devicottah and Cuddalore. An attack on Madras was also made, and the Black Town carried by assault; but in the plunder a quantity of arrack was found, in which the French soldiers indulged so gloriously that a *sortie* made by the English, from the English part of the town, succeeded beyond all expectations, and put them to flight. The general operations against the settlement were nevertheless continued, the total French force employed in them, consisting of 600 European infantry and 300 European cavalry, with 1,200 sepoy and 500 native horse; while the English garrison numbered 103 Europeans and 2,500 sepoy. But the siege, though prolonged for two months, was not successful; and Lally was obliged to raise it on the arrival of Admiral Pococke with reinforcements from Bombay. The English in their turn now became the assailants, and

pursuing the French army to Conjeverám, took the place by assault.

The Subadár of the Deccan at this moment was Salábut Jung, whom the French had raised to the *musnud* on the death of Mozuffer Jung. He was absolutely the protégé of the French: but, when Bussy, the French Commander in the Deccan, was recalled by Lally to Pondicherry, a rapid succession of events took place which ruined the interests of the French in the Deccan, and compelled the Subadár to solicit a connection with the English. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, drove the French entirely out of them; and a petty rájá named Anunderáj, having attacked and taken possession of Vizigápatám, offered his conquest to the English, which was occupied by a detachment sent to it by Clive, which defeated the French at Peddápore, and again at Másulipatám, the fort at the latter place being taken at the point of the bayonet. As a result of these victories the entire territory dependent on Másulipatám was made over to the English by Salábut Jung, who at the same time renounced the French alliance. Some naval engagements also took place between the English fleet under Pococke and the French fleet under D'Acné; but none of a very decisive character. The French were more hard-pressed by their pecuniary difficulties and the mutinies which broke out among their troops for want of pay; the chief malcontents being the Irish, who contended that they had accomplished more in battle than the whole of the French troops taken together, and had alone encountered the English with success.

The only triumph gained by the French at this time was the seizure of the island of Seringham; but this they were shortly after obliged to abandon for the defence of A'rcot, which Col. Coote pretended to threaten. The French were thus thrown off their guard at Wándewásh, which was assaulted by Coote and carried; after which Caranjaly and other places were also reduced. All the French forces were now concentrated at A'rcot, where the two armies faced each other in the commence-

ment of 1760. Lally then attempted the recapture of Wandewash, while Coote advanced to relieve it. The English army was composed of 1900 Europeans, 2100 sepoy, and 1250 native cavalry. The European force of the French numbered 2250 men, and their sepoy 1300; besides which they had a corps of Mahrattá cavalry in their service, which however did not even approach the field. Numerically the French army was therefore inferior to the English army opposed to it; but it was at the same time much superior in European strength. On the other hand, the English artillery, consisting of twenty-six field-pieces was better officered and manned, Lally's engineers and artillery being both equally inferior. His sole reliance in fact was on his Irish infantry and French cavalry—the latter of which proved to be a broken reed. The battle of Wandewash was the last and best fought action between the two rival nations in India—the great engagement which finally decided the struggle between them for the dominion of the East. Lally fought well, doing full justice to his Fontenoy reputation; but he was early deserted by his cavalry. His infantry rushed madly forward to meet the English, but were beaten back in a most sanguinary and terrible manner. They rallied, and, charging with the bayonet, broke the English line; but, not being supported either by their cavalry or their sepoy, were beaten back again and again, and after a bloody engagement were obliged to fly. The defeat of the French army was complete; but the English were so exhausted that they were unable to pursue. Lally even succeeded in carrying off his wounded and his light baggage in the face of the enemy; but the best portion of his cannon, ammunition, and stores was lost. After this, the fort of Chittapet was carried by the English, and Arcot was invested and restored to the Nawáb. Several minor places were also captured, till nothing remained to the French but the strong fort of Jinjee, and the settlement of Pondicherry, the last of which was regularly invested both by sea and land. The garrison of Pondicherry being unable to defend, it and at the same time straitened for food, were, after a short,

but spirited resistance, obliged to surrender. The fortresses of Jhager and Jinjee were next given up without a fight, which entirely extinguished the French power in the Carnatic. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabár Coast were next surrendered, and by 1761, the French had neither any military force nor local possessions in India beyond their trading factories at Calicut and Surát. Pondicherry and Mahé were subsequently restored to them by the treaty of 1764, and now constitute their sole possessions in India.

XXXVII.—THE ACQUISITION OF BENGAL AND BEHAR.

A. D. 1756 TO 1765.

THE English factories in Bengal were consolidated, and a fortress built at Calcutta with the permission of A'zimooshán, grandson of Aurungzebe, in 1700. In 1756 A'liverdi Khán, the best Subadár of Bengal, died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Mirza Mahomed, better known by his assumed name of Surájá-Dowlá. The new Subadár was known to entertain unfavorable feelings towards the English, and it is said that those feelings were derived from his grandfather, who, notwithstanding the moderation of his government, had looked with distrust on the English power. The first offence given to Surájá-Dowlá by the Company was the non-recognition of an order issued by him for the surrender of one Kissen Dass, the son of his treasurer at Dacca, who had fled with his family and property to Calcutta for protection. Shortly after, the Nawáb heard that the English were strengthening their fortifications, upon which he sent them a message to desist. The English vindicated their proceedings on the ground of apprehended hostilities with the French; but the excuse being rejected, the Nawáb appeared in arms before the factory at Cossimbazár, and reduced it.

The fall of Cossimbazár filled the garrison at Calcutta with dismay, as their number amounted only to 200 men,

of, whom not more than one-third were Europeans. The place was also ill-protected, the stock of provisions in it was well-nigh exhausted, and the supply of ammunition was insufficient. Assistance was therefore applied for from Madras; but this necessarily took a long time to come, while it took no time for the Subadár to march down from Cossimbazár to Calcutta. The emergency was great, and the servants of the Company got frightened; and the higher functionaries, with the females in the settlement, fled for protection to the shipping in the port, and dropped down the river. The rest, thus abandoned to their fate, after vainly endeavouring to call back the ships, defended the settlement as they best could for two days; after which the enemy entered it, and perpetrated the well-known tragedy which has made the name of the Black Hole infamous and immortal. The Hole however was an English, and not a native place of confinement; so that the English garrison only got "hoist with their own petard." As Mill significantly points out, "Had no Black Hole existed those who perished in it would have experienced a different fate."

All was lost in Bengal before Madras knew what had occurred; and when she did know of it, there was disagreement in her council—not as to the course to be pursued, which was agreed upon quickly,—but as to the manner in which operations were to be carried out, and in which the prizes expected were to be divided! After much discussion the differences on these points were resolved, and it was determined to send Clive to punish the Subadár, vesting him with powers to act independently of the authorities in Calcutta. The troops placed under Clive, amounted to 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy, and were conveyed by a squadron commanded by Admiral Watson, which consisted of five ships-of-war, and five transport-vessels. Two of the ships got separated from the rest in a storm, so that even the whole of the little force sent out was not at once available in Calcutta. The Nawáb threatened to attack it with his whole army; but, before he actually did any thing, Calcutta was occupied by the English, after a two hours

cannonade, the garrison flying before them in dismay. Clive then detached a force to attack Hooghly, and the fleet co-operating in the enterprise, the fort was taken by assault, the enemy offering a poor resistance.

Intermediately, war had been declared between England and France, and, in accordance with his instructions in the event of such a contingency, Clive marched to attack Chandernagore, the fleet under Watson coming alongside of the batteries of the settlement. The tortuous policy of the times does not exhibit this affair in the best light. The French did not side with the Nawáb, as they might have done, when Calcutta was re-occupied by the English; and the English, doubting their strength to take Chandernagore, concluded at first a treaty with the French of neutrality and peace. Fresh troops however arrived from Bombay and Madras, before the treaty was signed, and this induced Clive to carry out his original orders; upon which Chandernagore was attacked and taken after an obstinate resistance offered by a garrison of 900 Frenchmen.

The game carried on between the Nawáb and the English was also of a similar character. The success of A'hmed Sháh Dooráni at Delhi had filled the former with apprehension, it being expected that the invader would extend his conquests to the east and south; and this kept the Nawáb quiet during the contest between the English and the French. On the defeat of the latter, his fear of the English power was revived, and he hastened to enter into a treaty with them for restoring their factories, with all the privileges hitherto enjoyed by them, and with many others not accorded before. But these advances were all false and insincere, and they were met by the English in a kindred spirit, by a hypocritical affectation of friendliness for the Nawáb, while negotiations were being carried on by them with Meer Jáffer, a traitor, who was plotting the destruction of his master. Meer Jáffer promised every concession to the English that they asked for, and the English bound themselves to assist him and drive out Surájá-Dowlá

from the country. Jáffer, however, gave no material assistance in the battle which ensued; though doubtless the English received from him much moral and immoral support. The action at Plássey was fought between the English and the Subadár's troops, the latter being well assisted by a small party of French soldiers led by one Mons Sinfray. The English army consisted of 800 Europeans and 2,100 sepoy, and a small number of Portuguese, with eight field-pieces and two howitzers. The Nawáb's army was vast in numbers, being computed by some at 55,000 and by others at 68,000 men; but most of them were undisciplined recruits. It had fifty guns of the largest calibre, which the 40 or 50 Frenchmen in it, only knew how to use. The result of the battle therefore was such as might well have been anticipated. The immense host of the Nawáb, instead of advancing to attack their enemies, halted, and opened a fire on them from a distance; but the guns were worked so badly that not one shot had effect. The Frenchmen worked their field-pieces better; but they were not supported, and, from the smallness of their numbers, could make no impression by themselves. On the other hand, the English artillery replied with fearful effect, and, being at first chiefly directed against the French guns, soon silenced them; after which Clive ordered his whole force to advance, which at once put Surájá-Dowlá to flight. The little band of Frenchmen fought very bravely, but were soon swept from the field; while the rest of the army hurried from it helter-skelter, in precipitate fear. Thus was the battle of Plássey lost and won. The loss on the side of the English was seventy-two killed and wounded. Of the Nawáb's army five hundred perished, chiefly from the effects of the artillery practice to which we have referred, since not one man waited for closer fight.

Meer Jáffer kept aloof during the engagement to stand well with both parties, but came forward on its being decided, to claim the reward promised to him; upon which Clive saluted him as Subadár, being determined

to oust Surájá-Dowlá, who fled in the vain hope of being able to join the French. The fugitive was discovered by a man whom he had formerly treated with cruelty, and, being captured, was killed by order of Meer Jáffer's son.

The battle of Plássey settled the fate of Bengal. It does not concern us to unravel all the political intricacies of the period, which led to the alternate selection of Jáffer and Cossim as Subadár. In 1759, the intrigues of the former with the Dutch brought up a powerful armament from Batavia, conveyed in seven ships, to fight with the English. The English had only three merchant-vessels in the port to oppose them, but these were found quite sufficient for the purpose; and after two hours' fighting the Dutch commodore struck his colors, upon which all his ships were captured. The troops landed from the ships had in the meantime been joined by the Dutch garrison at Chinsuráh, and, marching out for battle, were encountered near Bedárrá, by Colonel Forde, and completely defeated, though the Dutch army counted 800 Europeans and 700 Malays, while the English army had only 400 Europeans and 800 sepoy. The battle was so decisive that nearly 500 prisoners were taken. Chinsuráh however, was not occupied: it was left to the Dutch on their agreeing to the humiliating conditions dictated to them, of never engaging in war or raising fortifications without English permission, and of never retaining more than 125 European soldiers for the service of their several factories at Chinsuráh, Cossimbazár, and Patna.

Meer Jáffer was now deposed from the subadárship on the pretext of nonfulfilment of his engagements with the English, and his son-in-law, Cossim, was raised to replace him. During the troubles which ensued two incursions were made into Bengal from Delhi by Sháh A'lum, one as heir-apparent to the throne, and the other after he had succeeded to it as Emperor. They were both directed against the Subadár, whose promotion to that office had not been recognized by the court of Delhi;

but they were mainly resisted and repelled by the English, who supported the cause of their nominee. The prisoners taken on the second occasion included a party of French soldiers headed by Mons. Law, who had fought with great heroism after being abandoned by the imperial army.

In 1763, Meer Cossim, having been found to be unaccommodating, was, in his turn, deposed, and Meer Jáffer reinstated. But Cossim did not yield without striking a blow; and, on Patna being captured and Moorshedabad stormed by the English, he drew out his forces in line of battle on the plains of Geriah, near Sootee. The army of Cossim was computed at 60,000; while the English army opposed to it scarcely numbered 3000 men. The attack was commenced by the English, in their usual manner; but unlike the usual reception they had hitherto met with, they were now opposed with the greatest obstinacy. For a long time the battle was fought on equal terms, and on one occasion the English line was broken and some guns were captured. But the mishap was soon remedied; and the English renewing their assault with redoubled fury the troops of the Nawáb were worsted, and after a desperate conflict defeated and put to flight. In this action a Bengalee, named Rájáh Shitáb Roy, distinguished himself greatly by his gallantry on the English side. The immediate result of the victory was the capture of a large quantity of rice and grain, which met an emergent need. The routed army hurried towards Outánallá, a fort between the river and the hills, which was taken by the English after great slaughter. Monghyr, the capital of Cossim, was next attacked and captured. He was thence pursued to Patna which was stormed, and his army pursued to the banks of the Karumnássá.

At this time a mutiny broke out among Meer Jáffer's troops and those of the English; but it was put down summarily and with great severity, the offenders being blown away from guns. Meer Cossim having in the meantime found an ally in the Vizier of Oude, the next

engagement with him was fought at Buxár, in 1764. The British force engaged in the battle consisted of 857 Europeans, 5,300 Sepoys, and 918 native cavalry, with a train of artillery counting twenty field pieces ; while the total force of the enemy was estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000 men. The action was maintained for three hours, after which the enemy gave way. The British army was divided into two columns to pursue them ; but its efforts were frustrated by the Vizier sacrificing one portion of his army to preserve the rest. At two miles from the battle-field there was a rivulet, over which a bridge of boats had been constructed. This the enemy destroyed before the rear had passed over, by which about 2000 of their own men were drowned or otherwise killed : but it saved the main body of their army, together with all the treasure and jewels of both Meer Cossim and the Vizier.

The battle of Buxár made the English masters of Behar. The Emperor Sháb A'lum, hitherto treated as a prisoner by the Vizier, now solicited their protection, which was extended to him. The tide of conquest rolled on, and Chunar and Allahabad were next taken ; after which the Vizier, having obtained the support of the Mahrattás, again ventured to show fight, but, being defeated once more, was finally subdued and solicited for terms. Fifty lakhs of rupees was asked from and paid by him as indemnification for the expenses of the war ; and the Emperor at the same time conferred on the English the *dewánný* or revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, together with the possession of all territories conquered by them within the limits of the Mogul Empire. The recognised sovereignty of the English was thus inaugurated in 1765.

ION AND CREUSA.

I

"OH THOU, that flood'st the world with light!
"Apollo, of the seven-string'd lyre!
"Why hast thou crush'd with bitter hate
"The victim of thy own desire?

II

"A virgin, by the limpid lake,
"You saw me gathering crocus bells,
"You dragg'd me to the darksome cave,—
"The secrets of that cave who tells?

III

"I wretched bore to thee a boy,
"But fearing evil-name to brave,
"In swaddling cloths the child exposed,
"Trusting his father him would save.

IV

"But, cruel god, your hapless son
"You suffer'd hungry birds to tear;
"Hast thou the heart to sing and play
"While I my load of sorrows bear?

V

"In wedlock's bonds no child I've borne,
"My husband gets a son from thee;
"My hopes are gone, my heart is broke:
"Thou couldst not give my child to me.

VI

"Oh god, that shared my virgin shame,
"Now pierce me with thy fiery dart;
"In my own house another's child
"To rear and feed will break my heart."

VII

Thus Creusa mourn'd before the shrine
Of great Apollo, son of Jove!
While Ion from the priestess' hands received
The cloths that mark'd a mother's love.

VIII

"These swaddling cloths receive, my boy,
"For safe enwrapp'd in them you lay,
"When to these hallow'd precincts brought,
"A poor, forsaken, cast-away."

IX

"By these seek out thy mother now,
"If haply she survives her shame:"
"She does," Creusa cries aloud;
"Salute me by that mother's name."

X

"Apollo, father of my son!
"I bless thee that thou blessest me;
"This, this repays the cruel turn
"That I received afore of thee."

XI

Impatient Creusa folds her son
In one prolong'd, fond embrace;
The tears gush forth from both their eyes,
Press'd heart to heart and face to face.

XII

And smiles old Xuthus that the child,
Apollo's gift, his wife loves well:
What man can fathom woman's heart?
Thy joy, oh Creusa, who can tell?

CASSANDRA.

I

IMPETUOUS burst my wailings deep,
The dreadful strains of prophecy !
Upon my brain what terrors crowd !
What unfeign'd fear possesses me !
Apollo, great destroyer mine,
Oh why must I such things divine ?

II

By his own cow a stately bull,
Unfairly caught, is gored to death ;
A biped lioness with fiendish bite
Her lion strong deprives of breath,
By tiger help'd with her that lay
What time the lion was away.

III

Oh fiend of hell in woman's form,
Canst thou such fearful actions dare ?
I see her feign an angel's love,
I see her whet her dagger bare ;
By three deep blows I see him slain
But oh, I speak my fears in vain.

IV

Accurs'd Scylla of the Atreus' race !
I see the blood-clot on thy brow !
A doom as fierce is left for thee,
A son will lay thy carcass low !
For me I care not now to die,
I only fear the horrors nigh.

V

The palace reeks with royal gore,
The master of the house is gone ;
Oh who will order things aright ?
Oh where is now the master's son ?
Come fast, come quick, Orestes come ;
A power divine will guide thee home !

VI

Oh king of Greece ! I grieve for thee ;
Troy's daughter mourns her captor slain ;
An impious death has been thy meed,
Thou should'st have died on Phrygian plain ;
A woman foul has laid thee low,
And none to grieve the traitor blow ?

VII

Orestes, speed on wings of fire ;
Avenger of the mighty dead !
Whet vengeance on thy father's corse,
And swear it on his life-blood red :
A dreadful task, oh son, is thine,
Avenger of the Atreus' line !

S.

XXXVIII.—THE WARS WITH HYDER ALLY AND TIPPOO SULTÁN.

A. D. 1766 TO 1799.

WHILE Bengal and Behar were being acquired by the English, a formidable power was consolidating itself in the Cárnatic for again contesting with them the sovereignty of the Coromandel coast. Hyder Ally was the son of a soldier of fortune, and entered the service of the Hindu rájáh of Mysore as a volunteer. Distinguishing himself soon by his courage and address he collected around him a large body of freebooters, which enabled him to vie on equal terms with greater chiefs. He was thus soon able to secure the office of fouzdár of Dindigul, and, having succeeded in repelling the attack of the Mahrattás, was made commander-in-chief of the Mysore army.

The king of Mysore was exceedingly indolent and imbecile, and was ruled entirely by his dewán, a Bráhman, named Nunjeráj. The arrogance of this man had latterly given offence to his master, who was anxious, but had not the power, to get rid of him. At this juncture Hyder came forward to assist him, intrigues were circumvented by intrigues, and Nunjeráj was sacrificed and Hyder elevated. The king had however, little cause to congratulate himself. Hyder arrogated as much power as Nunjeráj had ever assumed, and at the same time broke up the Mysore army to augment his own. All the authority of the Mysore government was, in this way, gradually appropriated by the adventurer.

The old rájáh dying his son was raised to succeed him, Hyder affecting to disdain the equipage of royalty; but he slowly went on increasing and consolidating his power. The rapidity of his conquests at last made him a general object of envy; and, in 1766, the Nizám and the Mahrattás resolved to curtail his influence. A confederacy was formed for this purpose, and, the English being bound by treaty to support the Nizám against his enemies, were obliged to join it. For some-

time Hyder repelled force by force, till finding the opposition very strong against him, he had recourse to intrigue, and persuaded the Mahrattas that it would better suit the interests of all parties, if a combined attack were made for the expulsion of the English, who had no business to be in India. The bait took, and the confederacy was changed to one for the subversion of foreign authority in the country.

The army of Hyder amounted to 200,000 men, and that of the Nizám to 100,000 men, but the only formidable portions of these forces were a cavalry 20,000 strong, and a French contingent of 750 men. The campaign was opened by the country about Mysore being ravaged by Tippoo, the son of Hyder; after which Hyder himself appeared before the fort of Trincomally, where he was opposed by Col. Smith. The English force consisted of 1,400 European infantry, 30 European cavalry, 9,000 sepoy, and 1,500 native cavalry. The strength of the enemy was roughly estimated at 70,000, men of whom more than half were mounted. The first struggle was for the possession of a hill which was carried by the English. It was followed by a regular battle in which the well-directed fire of the English artillery made up for other deficiencies, and the allies were completely defeated. Hyder, with the sagacity of his keen intellect, perceived when the engagement was lost; but his ally, the Nizám, being still in hopes of victory, refused to leave the field, which made their loss very heavy. Another defeat was sustained immediately after before Amboár, a place peculiarly situated, being built upon a mountain of smooth granite. Hyder laid siege to it; but it was ably defended by Capt. Calvert, till the arrival of Col. Smith, when Hyder was obliged to raise the siege. These reverses induced the Nizám to change sides, particularly in consequence of his country having been simultaneously entered by the English from the side of Bengal; and, by this treachery, he gained all the advantages he had lost, the English agreeing to hold the *dewánný* of Mysore under him, and to pay tribute for it, when they conquered it.

The operations against Hyder were continued, and Col. Wood succeeded in reducing several places, such as, Barámahal, Sálem, Coimbatore, and Dindigul, which however, from the fewness of his troops and other causes, he was unable to retain. The success of Col. Smith was more marked, and the fortresses of Kristnágury, Mulwagul, Colár, &c., submitted to him in rapid succession, while he gained an important accession of strength by an alliance with the Mahrattás under Morári Ráo. This led to an attempt at negotiation, which however fell through, because the British authorities wanted much more than Hyder was prepared to yield.

Hyder's antipathy against the English was now much aggravated, and led to some desperate attacks by which Coimbatore was retaken by his general Fuzzul-ooláh Khán, and Barámahal by himself. Eroád and Cauveriporám were also forced to surrender; and, while Fuzzul-ooláh went raiding in the direction of Madurá and Tinnevely, his master ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of the Cauvery, till he appeared by a rapid detour within five miles of Madras. This frightened the Madras Government to patch up an offensive and defensive alliance with him, in 1769, on the condition of a mutual restoration of conquests, and of placing the possessions of both parties on the footing they occupied previous to the war, to which Hyder agreed simply, because he wanted time to mature his schemes.

Hyder next got embroiled with the Mahrattás, who under Mádoó Ráo, entered his dominions and ravaged them. He solicited assistance from the English, on the force of the treaty referred to; but the appeal was disregarded, and from that moment he hated the English with the bitterest hatred. At this crisis war broke out between France and England in consequence of the American war of independence, and, while the English pounced upon Pondicherry and Mahé, the French determined to aid the arms of Hyder against their enemies. The second campaign was accordingly opened by Hyder, in 1780, at the head of 28,000 cavalry, a battalion of French soldiers, eleven battalions of country-born Portu-

guese, twenty-three battalions of sepoy, an immense train of artillery, and an innumerable host of irregulars, exclusive of 30,000 chosen troops, detached under Tippoo for ravaging the Malabár coast. The British forces at this time were scattered in detachments all over the country. Of these the most numerous and best-equipped party was that under Col. Baillie, which was intercepted by Hyder in its attempt to join the army under Sir Hector Munro, at Conjeveram. Notwithstanding these disadvantages the English fought well, repulsing thirteen different attacks of the enemy; but the superiority in numbers on the enemy's side was too great to get over, and they were at last obliged to submit, when the only humanity shown to them was that which proceeded from the French officers in the enemy's service, or what was obtained by their intercession.

After this Arcot was reduced by Hyder, and Wandewash, Vellore, and Chingleput were besieged; while the English at Madras, seized with terror, seriously contemplated returning to England, or flying over to Bengal. The reins of government in Bengal were however, now in strong hands; and, when news of the disaster reached Warren Hastings, he at once sent over a reinforcement of 560 Europeans under Sir Eyre Coote, promising to despatch a sepoy army besides without delay. The forces placed under Coote on his arrival at Madras, numbered 7,000 men; of whom 1,700 were Europeans. These numbers were inconsiderable as compared with those commanded by the enemy; but it was necessary nevertheless to do something with them, to check the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder A'ly, by which the country had already been converted into a desert. To this end the fortresses of Chingleput, Carangooly, Permácoil, and Wandewash were at once successively relieved; but, as these rapid movements necessarily exhausted his little army, Coote determined to risk a general action for weakening the enemy, and was soon able to do so. Encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, Hyder had entrenched his army in a strong position near Cuddalore, which Coote

determined to carry. The station was exceedingly formidable; but Coote, leading his men through a passage cut through the sand-hills by Hyder himself for surprising the English flank, was able to draw them up in the face of several powerful batteries and of a vast body of cavalry. The attack thus hazarded was hotly resisted; and the battle raged for six hours, every inch of ground being stubbornly fought for. The combatants on the English side amounted to 8,000 men, and on the side of the enemy to about 60,000 men; but eventually the latter were obliged to give way, Hyder himself being forced to fly. He returned in a short time to renew the fight, choosing a fresh position near Pollilot, where Col. Baillie had before been defeated by him. But the result on the present occasion was not similar. A very bloody engagement took place, which was so indecisive that both parties claimed the victory; but the Mysoreans were obliged to yield up their position, which the English reached by passing over the dead bodies of their yet unburied countrymen. On the other hand, a more signal triumph was gained at this time by Tippoo over Col. Braithewaite, at Coleroon; where the English army, consisting of 2,000 men, was surprised, defeated, and obliged to surrender; and Hyder Ally also, being shortly after joined by a strong body of French troops, successfully besieged Cuddalore, which was recaptured without resistance. Hyder then proceeded to attack Wandewash and Vellore; but the appearance of Coote to relieve the latter place induced him, after a distant cannonade, to retire towards Pondicherry. After these movements some successes were gained by Tippoo on the side of Malabár, when the operations in every direction were suddenly closed by the death of Hyder Ally, in 1782.

The Government of Madras was anxious to take advantage of the confusion that followed, but was prevented from doing so by the violent dissensions then prevailing between the civil and military authorities acting under it. These gave time to Tippoo to recommence operations; but he withdrew from the Carnatic to the Malabár

coast, which appeared to him to have become, for the time, the more important theatre of hostilities. The remaining enemy of the English on the Coromandel coast were the French, who had again got together a numerous army under Bussy, which was located at Cuddalore. The position was attacked and carried by the English under Gen. Stuart, but at a considerable sacrifice of lives: and Suffrein, the French Admiral, having succeeded soon after in landing another large reinforcement, the prospects of the English looked very gloomy, when intelligence arrived of peace having been concluded between the two nations in Europe, which closed all offensive operations between them for the time.

On the west coast operations were commenced by Gen. Mathews, in 1783, when the important post of Bednore was taken by him, together with treasure exceeding £800,000. But his success making him unwary Tippoo was soon able to circumvent him, and with the aid of a French engineer, named Cossigny, he succeeded in retaking Bednore, and, not finding his treasure in it, placed all his prisoners in irons and ill-treated them. Mangalore was next invested, and surrendered after a protracted defence, the garrison being allowed to withdraw with all the honors of war. Another place, Onore, was also similarly invested and defended; but, Tippoo being now deserted by his French officers, who withdrew from his army on account of the good understanding established between France and England in Europe, a hasty peace was concluded, which saved the honor of the garrison and its intrepid commander.

It was not possible however, for this peace to last long. The actual power of Tippoo now extended nearly over the whole of India, south of the Toombuddrá, while his pretensions already exceeded all bounds. These involved him, in 1785, in a war with the Mahattás and the Nizám; and, when that was settled, he got up a quarrel with the rájá of Travancore, in 1788. This prince was in alliance with the English, and the English Government hastened to inform Tippoo that hostilities with him would be regarded as a declaration of war with them.

selves. But Tippoo cared little for the threat, and attacked Travancore shortly after with an army of 35,000 men. The resistance he received was greater than he had expected. He was at first repulsed and fled; but the defeat was afterwards retrieved, and, the Travancore troops being worsted, the whole country lay at the mercy of the victor, which, as usual with him, was misused.

The Marquess of Cornwallis now determined once for all to humble the power of Mysore. A fresh treaty, offensive and defensive, was therefore concluded with the Nizám and the Peshwá, and a British army of 15,000 men was assembled under Gen. Meadows, at Trichinopoly, in 1790. The object now held in view was to advance upon Seringapatám, to effect which operations were begun by reducing the sultán's strong places in the low country. The fortresses of Eroád, Pálgaut, Dindigul, and Sattimungul were successively taken; and the possession of the Gujelháttý pass secured, which gave access to the heart of the enemy's country. Tippoo in the meanwhile swept through the Cárnatic, burning and destroying everything in his way, and, approaching Pondicherry, endeavoured to open negotiations with the French. He even sent proposals to Louis XVI, offering to destroy the English army and settlements in India provided the aid of 6000 French troops were given to him; but the king refused to agree. "This resembles the affair of America," he said, "which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now. The lesson is too severe to be forgotten." Tippoo was necessarily thrown on his own resources alone; but was not the less triumphant on that account, till Lord Cornwallis having entered the table land of Mysore, took him completely by surprise.

The second campaign was opened in 1791, Tippoo making his first stand at Bangalore, where he had removed his women and treasures. The fortress was too extensive to be invested; but it was carried by the English by breach and battery, after a heroic resistance on

the part of the garrison. The English army experienced great difficulties now from the want of stores and the inadequate supply of cattle for transport, but nevertheless passed on to Malavelly and thence to Arikera, a distance of nine miles from Seringápatám. This alarmed Tippoo greatly. He drew up his army, hitherto engaged in desultory warfare, to cover his capital, its right wing being protected by the Cauvery and its left by a chain of hills. The difficulties of attacking the position were great ; but Lord Cornwallis determined to hazard them. The progress of the British force was slow, but requisite disposition for action was eventually attained, and an attack risked in the middle of May. The contest on both sides was very obstinately maintained ; but on coming to close combat, steel to steel, the English carried by successive charges, one point after another, till the whole of Tippoo's army was obliged to fly and seek shelter under the fortifications of Seringápatám. But the victory was attained at great cost, the army had marched through a desert and was suffering fearfully from famine and disease, and the British commander soon found himself obliged to retire for the time, and to destroy the whole of his battering train and equipments. An opportune junction with the Mahrattá armies under Pursarám Bháo and Hurry Punt relieved the hardships suffered to a considerable extent, the Mahrattá commissariat being as excellent as that of the English was execrable. The fortress of Hoolcádroog was then taken, after which the army passed on for rest to Bangalore.

Operations were recommenced shortly after by the capture of the fortresses of Oussoor and Nundidroog, the latter of which offered a spirited resistance. The army then passed through a tract of hills covered with wood and studded with forts, of which that called Sávin-droog, or the Rock of Death, was the strongest. This was carried by assault, which caused Tippoo the greatest alarm and astonishment, as he had always regarded it as perfectly impregnable. Then followed the capture of another strong fort named Ootradroog, and of other inferior fortresses which did not even attempt to resist ;

while all that Tippoo was able to achieve was the reduction of Coimbatore, which yielded after a remarkable defence made by a very small garrison for 143 days.

The way being thus cleared for an advance on Seringápatám, Lord Cornwallis ordered Gen. Abercrombie to approach it early in 1792. The army under his lordship amounted at this moment to 22,000 men, with a train of 42 battering guns and 44 field pieces, while that under Gen. Abercrombie amounted to 8,400 men. The Mahrattá armies would have greatly augmented these forces; but they found it more profitable to undertake plundering expeditions on their own account which could not be prevented, and the plan of attack was therefore not communicated to them. The Mysore army still consisted of 45,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and 100 pieces of cannon; and with these formidable numbers Tippoo awaited the struggle in the front of Seringápatám.

An immediate and general attack being determined upon, it was undertaken at night for the greater certainty of surprise. The attacking army was formed into three columns, the centre column being commanded by Lord Cornwallis in person. The operations were so well conducted that the assailants forded the Cauvery and passed into Seringápatám, which is an island, before the enemy were fully aware of their danger. This was followed by a series of rapid and complicated movements which confounded and disheartened them; but nevertheless, when day broke the guns of the fort opened a severe fire, and a very obstinate resistance was offered. The first post of strength attacked was the "Sultán's Redoubt," which was taken after dreadful carnage. The Lálbágh, which contained the mausoleum of Hyder, was next assailed and captured. This latter place was a magnificent garden which supplied material for the siege of the city, which was now invested on its two principal sides, Gen. Abercrombie and Pursarám Bháo having obtained access towards it through the Gujelháttý pass. The conflicts waged constituted a great and continuous battle, one of the grandest and severest ever

fought in India. But Tippoo was finally worsted and reduced, and solicited peace, which was granted to him on the surrender of half his dominions, the payment of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages.

The sultán of Mysore was humiliated, and the final conclusion of the war staved. He burned for vengeance, and sought for confederates in every direction, sending ambassadors to Afghánistán, Constantinople, and Paris. But there was no favorable response from any quarter except Mauritius, or the Isle of France, which sent him assistance to the extent of 99 recruits! These marks of disaffection being openly paraded, the British Government remonstrated, and called upon the sultán to receive an English officer in his court to explain all causes of distrust and suspicion. But Tippoo would not agree to the arrangement, and procrastinated, upon which the government of the Earl of Mornington (Marquess Wellesley) decided to reinvade Mysore, and appointed Gen. Harris, in 1799, to take charge of the operations. The army placed under Harris consisted of 4381 European and 10,695 native infantry, 884 European and 1751 native cavalry, and 608 gunners with 104 pieces of cannon. To these were added 10,157 infantry and 600 horse belonging to the Nizám, which, strengthened with some Company's battalions and the 33rd King's Regiment, were, placed under the command of Col. Wellesley, afterwards the world-renowned Duke of Wellington. A third army of 6420 men under Gen. Stuart advanced from Malabár.

Tippoo endeavoured to take advantage of the detached state of the invading armies, and first attacked the Malabár forces before they were aware of his approach. But, though taken by surprise, they gave him no reason for exultation, and he was compelled to disperse his men in every direction. He next turned on the Nizám's troops, upon which he was attacked by Col. Wellesley from one side and by Gen. Harris from another. Some of the sultán's chosen troops were sent against the 33rd European Regiment in the vain hope that, if they could

be broken through, it would be easier work to dispose of the native troops afterwards. His boldest men were not able to stand the English bayonet charge, which was followed by a cavalry charge in which no quarter was given.

These desultory engagements were terminated in April 1799, by Gen. Harris's determined advance on Seringápatám. Gen. Baird led the storming party, while Colo. Wellesley held command of the reserve, which was to complete what Baird might leave unfinished. The Cauvery was boldly forded by the assailants under a heavy fire, and the ramparts were fought for and won, the resistance offered being very unequal in different places. A more spirited resistance was offered inside the city, where the sultán fought with his own hands like a common soldier. But this terminated with his fall, his body being found where the contest had raged the fiercest. After his death all the powerful fortresses throughout Mysore were surrendered; and, the whole country being acquired by the conquerors, the old Hindu dynasty was re-established on the throne, after having been set aside from it for forty-two years: while the family of Tippoo was removed to Vellore.

XXXIX.—THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR.

A. D. 1802 TO 1805.

THE conquest of Mysore opened the way to new difficulties and fresh wars. The development of the Mahrattá power has been already noticed. The genuine Mahrattás were not an extensive people at the outset; but their predatory life brought them many recruits, and they grew stronger as they advanced in their career of plunder. They invaded every county they could come to, and demanded the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue, as tribute. When this was quietly paid no atrocities were committed; otherwise the whole country was plundered and laid waste. With a superior army they rarely contended, retiring before it till they succeeded in making their army superior to that by which it was opposed.

The decline of the Mogul Empire contributed materially to make them formidable, and would have conferred absolute supremacy on them but for the invasions of the Afgháns, from whom they received two signal defeats. The Afgháns however, did not attempt to establish themselves permanently in India, and the Mahrattás necessarily regained on their retirement a preponderance among the native states. The subversion of the power of Hyder and his son by the English filled them with fresh fears of rivalry, and hastened that rupture with the foreigners which might otherwise have been delayed.

The unity of the Mahrattá Government disappeared a short time after the era of Sivájee. In 1708, the reigning king, Sáhoo, raised Bállájee Viswanáth to the office of Peishwa, and made it hereditary. The dignity of the Rájáh sunk from that time in the same degree as that of the Peishwá was exalted, and the latter officer soon established for himself a distinct seat of government at Pooná. This example was followed by other chiefs in time, who similarly established independent sovereignties for themselves as they found opportunities to do so; namely, Scindia in Málwá, Holkár in Indore, the Guicowár in Guzerát, and the Rájáh of Berár in Nágpore. They were connected with each other only by an undefined union of interests, and acknowledged in common the lead of the Peishwá, sedulously contending with each other for ascendancy at his court. This engendered an excessive jealousy between them, but for which they might have yet jointly assumed the imperial power. The strength and ambition of Hyder induced these chiefs to unite with the English in successive leagues; but the assistance they rendered was too tumultuary to be of much real use. The power of both Hyder and Tippoo having been brought to an end they had already begun to look distrustfully on the English; while the English, on their part, were anxious to avail themselves of the commanding position they had secured to establish an effective control over them.

The greatest of the Mahrattá leaders at this time was Scindia, whose territory being contiguous to that of the

Moguls had enabled him to establish himself on their decline, till, amid the dissensions of the imperial court, the emperor had personally placed himself under his protection, which had made him master of Agra, Delhi, and the surrounding territories. This advantage he had augmented by increasing his military power; and he had succeeded in organizing a large army officered by French adventures. Holkár was nearly equal to him in strength, and like him retained French officers to instruct his troops. The Rájáh of Berár was not less ambitious, but reigned over a wild people not equally open to improvement. The Guicowár, whose territory lay seaward, was the only one of them entirely devoted to English interests; for which reason he was not held in much account by the rest.

The first difference that played these chiefs into the hands of the English arose entirely among themselves. Holkár, in the course of his ravages, had overrun a part of Scindia's territories. Scindia united with the Peishwá to oppose him, but Holkár defeated them both; upon which the Peishwá, flying to Bassein, applied to the English to re-establish him in his rights. This led to an alliance, executed by the treaty of Bassein, in 1802, by which the Peishwá virtually accepted English protection and resigned his military power into their hands. Scindia was invited to take part in the engagement, but kept aloof from it; and he afterwards joined the Rájáh of Berár in opposing it.

The ostensible object of the English Government was the reinstatement of the Peishwá on his throne: their real object was the entire annihilation of the Mahrattá power. This necessitated large operations both in Central India and in the Upper Provinces, and arrangements for carrying them on were vigorously made. The military command in Central India was entrusted to Gen. Wellesley; while that in the Upper Provinces devolved on the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake.

The campaign was opened by the capture of the fortress of Ahmednugger, by Gen. Wellesley, in August 1803, of which event Scindia gave the following laconic

account: "The English came, looked at the *pettáh* walked over it, slew the garrison, and retired to breakfast." The acquisition was of the greatest importance, as it at once placed at the command of the English all Scindia's territories south of the Godávery. The fort of Baroach was taken immediately after, by Col. Woodington, while Wellesley moved on to Naulniáh, whence he overtook the enemy encamped in full force near the village of Assaye. The strength of Scindia was estimated at 38,000 cavalry and 18,000 infantry, with 100 pieces of artillery. The English cavalry opposed to this force scarcely numbered 3000 sabres, while the infantry was about 7000 strong. The battle was fought on the 23rd September, and was commenced by the English, who opened a well-directed, but unsuccessful cannonade, the enemy's artillery returning a dreadful fire which soon silenced the English guns. Every thing now depended on the resolution of a moment, and that resolution was promptly taken. The guns were abandoned for a bayonet charge, and, this succeeding beyond expectation, was followed by a cavalry charge which closed the fight. A desperate slaughter was terminated by the Mahrattás being defeated at every point; but their gunners would not even then abandon their guns, and were bayoneted at their posts. In this action the native sepoy fought as well as their European comrades; and it was from this date that they commenced to be well-prized.

After this, Col. Stevenson reduced the fortresses of Burhánporc and A'seergurh; while Gen. Wellesley proceeded against the Rájáh of Berár, whose troops were overtaken on the 29th November, on the plains of A'rgaum. But here the opposition was not of the kind experienced at Assaye. The attack was made in two lines, the infantry being the first and the cavalry the second; and as these advanced the enemy began to fall back. The battle was of short duration, though sanguinary; the result of it was not doubtful even for a moment, notwithstanding that the native troops, which had fought so gallantly at Assaye, were at first found to be very unsteady.

Of both Assaye and A'rgaum the opinions expressed by military critics have been adverse to the fame of Gen. Wellesley. The attack at Assaye, they say, should never have been risked, and would not have succeeded but for the spirit and fortitude of the troops. The engagement at A'rgaum is similarly pronounced to have been fought against military rules, and was only won by the self-reliance and presence of mind of the general in command. Criticisms of this nature, however, are of no real value; victories are not won by rule and compass; the general who commanded knew well what he was about; and, if the proof of the pudding be in the eating of it, the proof of the warrior's ability must be seen in the victories he gained.

The success at A'rgaum was followed by the capture of Gáwilghur, a strong fort situated on a lofty rock, which was taken by Gen. Wellesley in December; while two months earlier Colonel Harcourt reduced a fort in Cuttack, named Barábuttee, which had offered a determined resistance, and the eventual seizure of which led to the entire submission of Cuttack.

The operations simultaneously carried on under Lord Lake were equally successful. They were commenced, in August, by his marching against Perrou, a French adventurer in the employ of Scindia, who, on the land assigned to him for the maintenance of his troops, had established what he called an "independent French state on the most vulnerable part of the Company's frontier." But the brave Frenchman did not show fight on being approached, and fled with such rapidity that the English commander was not able to overtake him. Lake therefore marched on to Allyghur, the principal military depôt of Perrou, which was attacked in September, and the garrison of which made a desperate resistance. Two thousand of the men perished in fight, after which the rest surrendered; and all the artillery and stores in the depôt were captured. At this stage Perrou appeared and gave himself up; after which he applied for and obtained permission to enter the British territories, explaining that his treachery to Scindia was caused by

that chief having appointed another commander to supersede him.

Immediately after, Lake proceeded towards Delhi, before which he found the army that Perrou had commanded, drawn up for battle under the command of a new officer, named Bourquiez. The number of the Mahrattás was about 19,000, while the English army pitted against them was only 4,500 strong. But Lake did not hesitate to attack his opponents, and, after having tempted them down from their heights and entrenchments, commenced the battle with a short volley, which was followed by a bayonet-charge. The battle though brief was decisive. The bayonet-charge being successful, was followed by a cavalry-charge which completely routed the enemy; after which Delhi was entered by the English, and the poor ill-treated emperor taken under protection. Lake then marched on to Agra, where he arrived on the 4th. October, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The fort here was very strong, and was occupied by a large body of troops, by whom an obstinate resistance was made. But, a breach having been effected, the enemy capitulated, upon which 175 guns were captured, with treasure amounting to £280,000.

From Agra, Lake's army moved in pursuit of a Mahrattá force of 9,000 foot and 5,000 horse, and having a numerous artillery. These were overtaken near the village of Láswarie, on the 1st November, and fought with a determination exceeding all that had been expected of them. In the first attack on them their artillery mowed down men and horses in masses, and the English cavalry had to be withdrawn. A fresh attack was made on the arrival of the infantry; but the desperate valor of the enemy long kept their assailants at bay, and it was not till they were dispossessed of all their guns that they relinquished the contest. These troops constituted the flower of Scindia's army, and went by the name of the "Deccan Invincibles;" 7,000 of them were killed, and only 2,000 survived to surrender themselves. Both the rájáh of Berár and Scindia were now

vanquished at every point. The former concluded peace by ceding the province of Cuttack to the English, and the latter by giving up to them all the country between the Ganges and the Jumna, with the forts contained therein. He also gave up Baroach, with the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerát; while, on the south, he ceded Ahmednugger to the Peishwá, and some extensive districts to the Nizám.

The next adversary to turn to was Holkár, who had throughout the war with Scindia and the rájá of Berár retained an uncertain position, professing to be friendly to the English, but only watching an opportunity to strengthen himself at the expense of the contending parties. His real intentions being thus discovered, directions were given to Lord Lake and Genl. Wellesley to commence operations against him simultaneously in Hindustán Proper and the Deccan. The troops under him amounted at this time to 60,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, with 192 pieces of artillery. The first to advance against him was Lord Lake, the march of Genl. Wellesley being delayed by a famine prevailing in the Deccan. The fort of Tonk Rampoorá was taken in May 1804, after which Holkár fled; whereupon Lake with the main body of the army fell back on Agra, amid indescribable misery and suffering from an Indian *simoom*, leaving a detachment under Col. Monson to guard against the return of the enemy, while the pursuit after him was entrusted to a Hindustáni cavalry, consisting of two parts, one commanded by Capt. Gardiner, an officer in the service of the rájá of Jynagore, and the other by Lieut. Lucan.

Many disasters followed these arrangements. Lieut. Lucan's party, having been suddenly attacked by Holkár was cut to pieces; and in other quarters the British arms met with distressing reverses from the predatory cavalry under Ameer Khán, the leader of the Pátná plunderers in the Deccan. Becoming bolder by success, Holkár next attacked Col. Monson himself; and, though all his assaults were vigorously repulsed, the English commander was still obliged to retreat. This had a very

had effect on the spirit of his men ; and, being harassed at every step by the enemy, the corps was reduced from 12,000 to 1,000 men, when, without cannon, baggage, and ammunition, it found refuge under the walls of Agra. To wipe out the disgrace of this reverse, Lake marched out personally against Holkár, in October, the force under him consisting of three regiments of European Light Dragoons, five regiments of Native Cavalry and Horse Artillery, Her Majesty's 76th Regiment of Foot, the flank companies of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, ten battalions of Native Infantry, and the usual proportion of artillery. The army under Holkár was still above 70,000 strong ; but, avoiding Lake, he moved forward to attack Delhi. He was there received by Cols. Ochterlony and Burn, who had only two battalions and four companies of native infantry under them. The defence was nevertheless so successful that the assailants, after a siege of nine days, were driven back from every point and obliged to fly.

Lake having hastened to the relief of Delhi, and arriving there after the besiegers had marched off, pursued them to Deeg, tracking them by the course of their devastations. But before he came up with them a great battle was fought under the walls of the fort, on the 13th November, between them and the forces under Genls. Fraser and Monson, in which the victory was obtained by the English after a severe loss of lives. The remains of the enemy's army then took shelter within the fort, while Holkár pursued his flight towards the Jumna, followed by Lake at the rate of twenty-three miles a day. He was overtaken at Furruckábád, but, abandoning his army, he bolted thence backwards to Deeg. This led to the fort being besieged and stormed in December, after which Holkár retreated towards Bhurtpore, leaving 100 guns and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition behind him. The strength of the chief in the Upper Provinces was now entirely broken, while, in the Deccan, Chandore and other strong-holds were reduced.

The only point of resistance now was Bhurtpore, a mud fort surrounded by a broad ditch. This was

defended with great skill and resolution, and the English were repulsed from it four times successively in attempting to carry it by assault. To add to their difficulties Ameer Khán, the Pátán, who had been invited by the rájáh of Bhurtpore to assist him, harassed them in the rear. This made their position particularly unpleasant; but the rájáh, being apprehensive of final consequences, made overtures of peace in March 1805, and paid down twenty lakhs of rupees to secure it. Holkár, thus deserted by his last ally, was obliged to seek refuge amongst the Sikhs, when by a complete change of policy among the English administrators all the advantages of the campaign were lost. The Court of Directors had come to the decision of concluding peace in India at any price, and the policy adopted by the Marquess of Wellesley, was therefore overturned. The fortress of Gwálíor was given back to Seindia, and the fugitive Holkár was granted peace on terms which restored to him almost everything he had lost.

XL.—THE NEPÁL WAR.

A. D. 1814 to 1816.

THE Earl of Moira had censured in Parliament the martial proclivities of the Marquess of Wellesley; but, on his arrival in India, was obliged to undertake wars of even greater magnitude than those which Lord Wellesley had waged. The first quarrel forced on him was that with the kingdom of Nepál, the Switzerland of the East, which for a series of years had been committing aggressions on the English frontier, for which it made neither reparation nor apology, while it retained forcible possession of its usurpations, and treated the officers sent to remonstrate with insolence and atrocity. War with it having thus become unavoidable, the Governor-General determined to invade the country at once at four different points; and for that purpose organised.

four separate army divisions, which were placed separately under the commands of Genls. Marley, Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony. The force under the first consisted of 8000 men and 26 guns, and was intended for marching through Muckwanpore to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepál. Genl. Wood at the head of 4500 regular troops, a body of 900 irregulars, and 15 guns, was directed to march from Goruckpore, to clear and take possession of the Terai, or jungle-territory, between the British and Nepál frontiers. The force under Genl. Gillespie, consisting of 3500 regular troops, 7000 irregulars, and 20 guns, had orders to seize the passes of the Ganges and the Jumna, particularly those of the Dehrá Dhoon and Jyetak, and to cut off the enemy's retreat. The force assigned to Genl. Ochterlony amounted to 7000 men and 22 guns, and his orders were to operate against the western provinces and the western army of Nepál, led by Umur Sing. Thappá, a chief of great renown. The Goorkhá army amounted to 12,000 men; but their artillery appointments were believed to be good, besides which they had a great advantage in the impregnability of their passes and the difficult nature of their country generally.

The campaign was opened in October 1814, by the occupation of the Deyrá Dhoon by Genl. Gillespie, who proceeded thence to attack the fortress of Kálungá, which formed the key of the surrounding country. The place was garrisoned by 600 Goorkhás, who resisted the assault with great intrepidity; and, in endeavouring to force his soldiers against stone-walls which they could not conquer by escalade, Gillespie himself was shot through the heart. The attack was renewed by Col. Maibey, who succeeded in effecting a breach, which however he was unable to carry, being forced back with a loss of 680 men. A bombardment was next tried, and was attended with immediate success. The batteries continuing to play on it, the walls of the fortress were in three days reduced to ruins, upon which the remnants of the garrison were compelled to abandon the place, and, being pursued, had to disperse. After this the

strong fort of Báraut; being attacked, was evacuated by the enemy, and so also was the post of Luckerghát on the Ganges, which completed the occupation of the entire valley by the invaders. Genl. Martindell, the successor of Gillespie, now resolved to attack the fortress of Jyetak; but here the Goorkhás were more strongly stockaded, and succeeded in repelling all the attacks that were made, which led to a disastrous retreat.

Simultaneously with the above operations, the division under Genl. Ochterlony penetrated the western hills in the direction of Nálágurh, the fort at which place was captured on the 6th November, and that of Tárágurh immediately after it. He then passed on to Rámgurh, a hill-position of extraordinary strength, where Umur Sing had concentrated all his forces. Both the front and the rear of the position were found unassailable; till, by a series of skilful manœuvres, Umur Sing was compelled to quit it, upon which it was at once occupied by the English. Two other forts—Jhoojhooroo and Chumbul—were also taken, after which Ochterlony halted for a time in expectation of reinforcements.

The operations of the other two divisions were uniformly disastrous. Genl. Wood suffered himself to be inveigled into an attack of a redoubt at Jeetgurh, which though carried with considerable loss, he was not able to retain. He then endeavoured to proceed in a westerly direction, with a view to create a diversion of the enemy's force, but was stopped by the movements of the Goorkhás, who, advancing into the country, burnt all the villages on his route. An attempt to occupy Bhotwál was next made, but was unsuccessful; after which the health of the troops compelled them to retire into cantonments at Goruckpore. The only achievement of the division under Genl. Marley was the occupation of the Sárún Terai, which was effected before he took charge. After he joined the army the Goorkhás attacked two of his advanced posts.—Pursáh and Sum-mundpore—and carried them. An attempt was subsequently made to re-occupy Pursáh, but was given up in alarm; after which the general retired to Bettáh, from

which nothing could induce him to venture out. He was recalled. A similar conduct on the part of a Nepálese general, named Bhágbut Sing, was punished by his Government, not simply by recall, but by his being publicly exhibited in woman's attire. Genl. Marley had equally deserved a similar distinction, and ought to have received it.

Marley was succeeded by a second Genl. Wood, who proved to be no better than his namesake, the hero of Jeetgurrh. A detachment of his division distinguished itself, toward the end of February 1815, by a smart attack on a party of 400 Goorkhás, who were defeated and pursued; but the general himself was more cautious, and, pleading the advanced season of the year, as an excuse for his conduct, he broke up his army and cantoned it in convenient situations from the Gunduck to the Kóosi. The division under Genl. Martindell also remained equally inactive, and the courage of the English officers soon became a by-word in every native court in India.

The entire command of the war was now vested by the Governor-General on Genl. Ochterlony, the only commander who had fought valiantly and skilfully in the campaign. Having driven Umur Sing from Rámgurrh to Málown, Ochterlony had successively reduced several strongholds, among which were those of Beláspore and A'lmoráh. He crowned these successes by attacking Umur Sing at Málown, where a protracted contest of more than one month was maintained, the Nepálese general being finally forced to capitulate on the 11th May 1815, whereby the possession of the entire country between the Jumna and the Sutledge was secured.

The Nepál Government was so discouraged by these reverses that it expressed a willingness for peace; but the terms proposed by the English, which included the cession of all the provinces conquered in the west and of the whole of the Terai, were refused as too exacting by the court of Kátmandoo, even after they had been accepted by its ambassadors. Lord Moira however,

declined to relax in his demands; and Ochterlony was ordered to renew the war, and pressed forward to do so at the head of 20,000 men, including three English regiments. He found the enemy entrenched at the Chereeághátee pass, which formed the entrance into their mountain territory. The approaches to their position were all strongly stockaded and unassailable; but, by marching through a forest of nine miles, Ochterlony discovered an undefended mountain by-path which turned the pass. The heights on the flank of the enemy's position were thus gained by the middle of February 1816, which compelled them to evacuate the place and retreat from stockade to stockade till they reached the town of Muckwanpore. On the 27th February the English troops took up a position in the neighbourhood of Muckwanpore, upon which the Goorkhás endeavoured to dislodge them, which brought on a general action that decided the campaign. It was at first very hotly contested, till a British bayonet-charge broke the enemy. A good stand was again made by them beyond a deep hollow, whence an incessant cannonade was kept up for some hours. But a fresh Sepoy battalion dashed across the hollow, and, charging the enemy again with the bayonet, captured their nearest guns; which compelled them to retire into their forts and stockades.

This concluded the Nepál war, the court of Kátmandoo agreeing to yield everything that the English had originally asked for. All the Nepál territories occupied by the English, including the valley of the Ráptée, Hurcehurpore, &c., were thus acquired. The rájáh also sent in an apologetic letter for the differences that had arisen, promised never again to disturb the English frontier, and agreed to receive an English Resident at his court.

XLI.—THE SECOND MAHRATTÁ AND PINDÁRI WAR.

A.D. 1817, to 1819.

THE second great war waged by the Earl of Moira, now made Marquess of Hastings, began in hostilities with the Pindáris, the Freebooters of Central India, who were secretly supported by the Mahrattá princes, and ended in the annihilation of the former, while the latter were brought under subordination and control. The Pindáris, or Free Companions, were dispersed throughout the Mahrattá states, and were countenanced and protected by the Mahrattá chiefs, to whom they were invaluable as agents for supplying all the commissariat required by their armies. They were composed of the refuse of all races, congregated together solely for purposes of plunder. Every vagabond having a horse and a sword was qualified to serve as a Pindári recruit; no virtue of any kind—not even personal courage—was required of him; all the strength of the Pindáris lay in their numbers and in the celerity of their movements. They were simply mean and cowardly robbers, called forth into existence by a vicious and degraded state of society; and they kept themselves actively employed by undertaking expeditions of plunder and rapine on their own account. As a rule these depredations were made on the neighbouring Rájput states; but they sometimes levied contributions in Mahrattá country also, on the subjects and dependants of the very princes who protected them; and, even on such occasions, no pains were ever taken to check their rapacity so long as a part of the plunder was surrendered to the protecting chief. The two great divisions among them were known by the names of Scindia-Sháhi and Holkár-Sháhi, as being respectively under the protection of Scindia and Holkár; the first band being much more powerful than the second. The organisation of all the divisions was the same. They were all mounted on small but hardy ponies; carried no conveniences of life with them, depending on plunder even for their subsistence; and

spared no barbarities in their depredations. The most diabolical tortures were used to extract informations of treasure; the greatest cruelties inflicted for attaining the most trifling advantages. When first known to the English authorities their principal commanders were Cheeto, Kurrém, and Dost Mahomed, the most desperate and profligate villains among themselves being always selected for such commands. For a long time the English territories had been respected by them; but they had begun to be less particular in this respect from 1812, and had latterly entered Ganjam, Masulipatam, Guntoor, and the Northern Circars, and in twelve days had killed and wounded nearly 7000 persons, and carried off property to the value of £100,000. These atrocities rendered it imperative on the English government to root them out; and preparations for their total suppression were accordingly organized by Lord Hastings on the grandest scale, as apprehensions were entertained that an attack on them might give rise to a war with the Mahrattá chiefs by whom they were supported.

This anticipation was realised in due course; but the complications with the different chiefs were differently created. The Peishwá, Bájee Rao, not having been on good terms with the Guicowár, the ruler of Guzerát, the latter made several attempts to have the difficulties between them settled by negociation. All these efforts were baffled by the intrigues of an adventurer, named Trim buckjee Dangliá, who had rapidly risen in the Peishwá's favor; and the claims and counterclaims of the two parties at last became so intricate that the Guicowár offered to send to Pooná his own prime-minister, Gungádhur Shástree, as the person who would best be able to place the questions at issue between them on an intelligible basis. The Shástree accordingly went thither, in 1814, on receiving a safe conduct from the British Government, after which he was set upon by the followers of Trim buckjee and assassinated. This short-sighted violence left the British Government no alternative but to demand the surrender of Trim buckjee; and, on evasion being attempted, a military demonstration on

Pooná was threatened, to prevent which Trimbückjee was surrendered. He was kept in confinement by the English in the fortress of Tánjá, in the island of Sálsette; but managed to escape thence with the connivance of a Mahrattá groom, after which he hastened to the southern districts of the Mahrattá country and began to levy troops and raise the whole country to make war with the English. As the Peishwá countenanced these proceedings secretly he was remonstrated with, till, throwing off his reserve, he joined in hostile movements against the English, and finally ended by attacking the Residency, and plundering and burning it to the ground, in October 1817. The Resident and his party had barely time to escape from the Residency when it was thus attacked and destroyed. The English troops came back in a short time to re-occupy Pooná, and the Peishwá's forces were defeated; and bolted: after which Col. Colebrooke was sent in pursuit of the Peishwá; which forced him to throw himself into the wild country where the Krishtná takes its rise, and to make common cause with the Pindáris.

The greatest army that England had ever yet collected together in India now took the field for the avowed purposes of finally crushing the Pindáris, and of establishing order among the Mahrattá states. It counted 81,000 infantry, 10,000 regular cavalry, and 23,000 irregular cavalry; and of the entire number 13,000 were British soldiers. These forces were grouped into two bodies, called respectively the "Army of Bengal, or the Grand Army," which was commanded by the Governor-General in person, and the "Army of the Deccan," which was divided into two army corps, commanded, one by Sir Thomas Hislop, and the other by Sir John Malcolm. The divisions of the armies were so located as to form together a complete cordon round the Pindári positions. The forces opposed to them were estimated at 225,000 men, the Mahrattá confederacy counting 130,000 horse and 80,000 foot, and the Pindáris 15,000 horse. The field of war was so extensive that it gave great facilities to the flying propensities of the Mahrattás.

and Pindáris, and this necessarily threw many difficulties in the way of their pursuit.

Up to this time the other Mahrattá chiefs had not discovered themselves. It being now necessary that a part of the English army should traverse the territories of Scindia, the Governor-General considered it essential that, when leaving the dominion of that chief behind, his consent should be extorted to such a treaty as would withdraw from him the means of hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. The Resident at Gwálor was accordingly instructed to demand of Scindia that all his troops be placed at the disposal of the Governor-General, that a contingent of 5000 horse be furnished by him to the army equipped at his own expense, and that the forts of Hindia and A'seergurh be delivered up to the English for the time, his flag continuing to fly on them as heretofore. These conditions were very hard, and Scindia objected strongly to agree to them; but, as the Governor-General was determined to enforce them, the treaty was eventually signed on the 6th November 1817. Similar treaties were also extorted from the other Mahrattá chiefs, and also from Ameer Khán, the leader of the Pátán plunderers in Central India, who was well known as the most atrocious villain of his day.

With Berár the relations hitherto had been very amicable. But Rughoojee Bhonslá having died, and Appá Sáheb, his cousin, having been raised to the *musnud* by the English, the first idea that occurred to him was to get rid of his allies, whose assistance he thought was no longer of any use to him. This induced him to enter into active correspondence with the Peishwá and the Pindáris, the remonstrances of the Resident were lightly treated, and at last hostile preparations were made which compelled the Resident, in November 1817, to send for troops from the cantonments, and to occupy the hills of Seetábuldee, where they were surrounded by the enemy on the 27th. The Arabs in the rájá's service fought resolutely, while the sepoys in the British army were panic-struck and fled, and were put to the sword. The day seemed lost, when a daring cavalry-charge, headed by

Capt. Fitz-Gerald retrieved it, the enemy being scattered in every direction, including the Arabs who were unable to stand a bayonet-charge. This forced Appá Sáheb to enter into negotiations; but, as he at the same time went on increasing his army, it was determined to crush him altogether as speedily as practicable. Genl. Doveton was accordingly sent after him, and by his movements succeeded in compelling Appá Sáheb to surrender himself, after much hesitation and delay, on the 16th December 1817. His artillery nevertheless, opened a heavy fire on the English; but, in less than an hour, all the offending batteries were carried, and the Arabs put to flight, leaving their entire camp, with 80 guns, mortars, and howitzers, and 45 elephants; in the hands of the victors. Even after this defeat a part of the Arab infantry rallying, occupied the city and fortress of Nágpore, which they held for a time, capitulating at last on condition of being permitted to march out with their baggage and private property; after which all resistance ceased.

Great confusion had also arisen intermediately in the territory of Holkár. Jeswant Ráo having died, and his heir, Mulhar Ráo, being a minor, Toolsee Bye, the widow of the deceased Holkár, was made regent. Her leaning for English protection however, soon made her very unpopular among her own people; and particularly with Ameer Khán and the Pátáns who had a potential voice in the councils of the country, and who were particularly anxious to keep up a state of anarchy to benefit themselves. To remove the only obstruction in their way they seized upon and assassinated the regent, which forced Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Hislop to proceed together towards Mehidpore, where Holkár's army was posted, to avenge the outrage. The battle of Mehidpore was fought on the 21st December. A galling fire kept up by the enemy was very destructive to the English horse-artillery, which had first crossed over to their side and the guns attached to which were nearly disabled. But the English, having succeeded in carrying a ruined village which was the key of the Mahrattá

position, were soon able to overpower the batteries from which they had so severely suffered, which spread dismay through the enemy's ranks, and forced them to retire. The terms now offered were accepted with alacrity, namely, that Holkár should be placed under the protection of the English, and should surrender to them various districts, forts, and passes; that an English force should be maintained in his territories for preserving internal tranquillity; and that he should engage never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any of the allies or dependents of the English. Some of the Pátán chiefs exhibited their disapproval of these terms by breaking them shortly after their acceptance; but they were quickly defeated, after which the whole country was reduced to obedience and tranquillity.

These rapid successes kept Scindia steady to the treaty concluded by him, and deprived the wandering Peishwá almost of every hope of success. The Pindáris, for whose suppression the Grand Army had been organised, never showed fight. Their two leaders, Kurreem and Cheetoo, quarrelled with each other as to the means of escape, not as to the means of resistance. Kurreem, attempting to fly in the direction of Gwálíor, was surprised by Genl. Donkin and completely overthrown, even his wife being captured, while he himself was obliged to surrender to Sir John Malcolm a short while after. The rest of the Pindáris fled with Cheetoo in the direction of Mewár, and were hunted from cover to cover. Some of his *dyrrá*, or division, were traced to Mehídpore, and after the action there were pursued and cut up; but the chief himself eluded all search. At one time he joined A'ppá Sáheb and passed sometime in the Mahádeo hills; but, attempting to follow the rájáh to A'seergurh after his final defeats, was refused admittance. His sole adherant at this time was an only son with whom he now parted, father and son taking different routes to cover their retreat. The son soon fell into the hands of the English, while Cheetoo terminated his life in a jungle, where he was killed by a tiger; and with him ended the Pindári name.

The Peishwá was still pursuing his flight through the southern states of the Deccan. Báppoojee Goklá, his ablest general, rallied to defend a ghát leading to the sources of the Krishtná, where his master had found a temporary refuge, but was beaten back and defeated. Rapid and wearying marches ensued, the Peishwá's army flying in a zigzag all over the Deccan, at one time approaching Mysore, and at another the banks of the Nermuddá, always distancing his pursuers by the rapidity of his flight. At Wuttoor he was joined by Trim-buckjee, who brought him large reinforcements, after which they tried to retrace their steps towards Pooná. But they were intercepted by Capt. Staunton taking up a position on the heights of Corrêgaum, about half way to Pooná, where a desperate engagement was fought on the 1st January 1818, the possession of the village being obstinately disputed by the Arabs who composed the main body of the Mahrattá infantry. Here also, the English were at first worsted, till a resolute charge made by Lieut. Pattinson and his sepoy-grenadiers succeeded in capturing the last gun of the Arabs, and in expelling them from their post. The enemy still continued to hover about the place; but offered no molestation; and Genl. Smith's division coming up to it shortly after, the Peishwá and his followers were obliged to fall back again to the table-land near the sources of the Krishtná, whence overtures for a treaty were made. But these were summarily rejected, the English Government having already determined to abolish the title of Peishwá though they were willing to soothe the feelings of the Mahrattá people by restoring the rájá of Sattará—the lineal descendant of Sivájee—to some share of his former dignity. To this end Genl. Smith secured possession of Sattará, after which he renewed the pursuit of the Peishwá. A spirited stand was made at Ashtee by Goklá, on the 18th February; but the Mahrattás were defeated and Goklá slain. After two further actions with the same result the Peishwá surrendered, and, on renouncing his dignity and all claims of sovereignty, a pension of £100,000 per annum was allowed to him.

and his residence fixed at Bithoor. Trimbuckjee Dangliá was captured a short time after, and confined, first again at Tanna, and afterwards at Chunár; a liberal allowance being also made to him.

As A'ppá Sáheb had surrendered himself, and as the blame of the later transactions at Nágpore did not attach to him, he was released by the English on the entire surrender of Nágpore. The terms proposed for his acceptance included the complete subjection of his military force to the English, and the appointment of even his ministers by them. To this the rájáli refused to agree. He expressed preference for a liberal pension; but that was not conceded to him. He thereupon began again to intrigue and to levy troops; and secret correspondence with the Peishwá was discovered. The Resident placed him in durance; but he effected his escape. He then went to the Goánds and lived among them, and concerted with their chief, Chyn Sháh, a plan for recovering the forts of Nágpore. All attempts to this end were however frustrated, and, a hot pursuit being made, A'ppá Sáheb fled to A'seergurh, a fort belonging to Scíndia, the Killádár of which received and sheltered him. The Scíndia, as a good friend of the English, sent an order to the Killádár to deliver up the fort to them; but he is said to have simultaneously sent a secret command, directing the Killádár, if he valued his head, to hold out to the last. The Killádár followed the latter mandate, and stood siege till his provisions were exhausted, after which he surrendered at discretion, on the 7th April 1819, but not till A'ppá Sáheb had been allowed to escape. The rájáli went to Láhore, where he lived the recipient of a trifling allowance from Runjeet; but the latter never received him publicly at his *durbár* to avoid giving offence to the English.

The fall of A'seergurh closed the Mahrattá campaign. The English acquired an immense accession of territory and revenue. A'ppá Sáheb was dethroned, and the grandson of Rughoojee Bhonslá elevated to his place; but the whole country of Nágpore, with its resources, was virtually annexed to the English territories. It was completely

acquired on a later day, when the rájáh died without leaving an heir, the right of the ránees to adopt being disallowed.

XLII.—THE BURMESE WAR.

A. D. 1823 to 1826.

THE war with Burmáh broke out from several acts of frontier aggression on the part of the Burmese, which were first suffered to pass unpunished, but which eventually led to petty hostilities that culminated in a declaration of war. The aggressions had been constant from Arracan; but had not been altogether unprovoked, some political refugees from Burmáh having openly disturbed the Burman frontier by raids concocted at Chittagong. The difference between the outrages thus perpetrated, which the Burmese affected not to understand, was this that, while the British Government had no hand in the raids led from Chittagong, the violation of British territory was the act, not of private offenders, but of the court of A'vá.

The immediate cause of hostilities—the spark that set the mine on flame—was a claim advanced by both Governments on a little island at the mouth of the Naáf river, which formed the boundary between Chittagong and Arracan. The Burmese threatened that, if this island, which had for a long time been in the possession of the English Government, were not given up to them at once, they would forcibly take away from the English the cities of Daccá and Móorshedabád, which they affirmed, had at one time, belonged to the Golden Throne. Previous to this the first blood had been drawn by the Burmese on the Cáchar frontier, which had been penetrated by a joint Burmese and Assamese army in pursuit of fugitives; and, the assailants not having been very successfully met by the English force located there, had committed many excesses

with impunity. As the whole of this frontier was only a succession of forests, hills, and swamps, the English Government, in deciding upon retributive operations, preferred to ascend the Irrawádi, and open the campaign by the capture of Rangoon. To this end a large force especially selected for the enterprise was organised, consisting of H. M.'s 13th and 38th Regiments, the 2nd Battalion of the 20th N. I. and two companies of European Artillery, from Bengal; and of Her Majesty's 41st and 89th Regiments, the Madras European Regiment, seven Battalions of Native Infantry, and four Companies of Artillery, from Madras: making an aggregate of about 11,500 men. Attached to this army were a park of 14 heavy guns, 10 howitzers, 8 mortars, and 12 field-pieces; and also 20 gun-brigs and schooners, 20 rowboats, 4 sloops of war, and several of the Company's cruisers.

The whole expedition was placed under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, and arrived off the Rangoon river in May 1824, anchoring opposite Rangoon on the 11th. The consternation and alarm of the Burmese at the sight of it was exceedingly great. Rangoon was at once deserted by them, and was occupied by the invaders without opposition. In removing themselves from it however, the Burmese also took away everything in the shape of supplies; and, the place being surrounded by jungle, considerable distress was suffered by the English on this account, particularly in consequence of the immediate descent of the rains.

All the supplies removed from the reach of the English were retained by the enemy, who took up their quarters in the surrounding jungle, where they stockaded themselves. They were commanded by one of their ministers of state, named Thakia Woonglee, whose orders were to annihilate the invaders. But he nevertheless, never came forward to carry out those orders; and when parties of his people were surprised and pursued, they seldom stopped to show fight, except when they were unable to fly. Their general practice was to fight from a cover, and to leave their dead behind them; the survivors traversing

over to other parts of the jungles, for refuge behind fresh stockades which were quickly improvised. The first strong position taken from them was Keminendine, a war-boat station three miles above Rangoon, which was captured on the 3rd June. The enemy had labored day and night to strengthen it, and the heights were strongly stockaded. But the strongest of these defences was carried in a few minutes, after which there was a downpour of pitiless rain, which prevented further operations for the day. When the attack was renewed next morning, the other stockades were found deserted, the Burmese having gone off in the night to man their next military post, several miles in the rear.

This was the character of the war throughout. In the beginning of July, the Shoodagon pagoda, which was considered to be the key of the position occupied by the English, was attempted to be taken, the main body of the enemy boldly coming up to within half a mile of Rangoon, and commencing a spirited attack... But two field pieces served out with grape and sharpnell soon checked their advance, after which a charge of the 43rd Madras Infantry put them to flight.

This defeat led to Thakia Woonghee being superseded in command by another general, named Soomba Woonghee, who adopted the safer policy of acting entirely on the defensive. He stockaded his army in the most difficult part of the forest, whence he was content to make desultory attacks nightly on the English lines. The English commander resolved to force him to a general action, and, two columns of attack being formed, one was led by land under Genl. McBean, while the other advanced by water under the Commander-in-Chief. The operations both by land and water were equally successful; and by the middle of July several stockades were taken, ten being captured in one day, with thirty pieces of artillery in them, while nearly a thousand men were killed, including the Woonghee.

The next expedition was sent out at about the end of August, and had for its object the subjugation of the

maritime possessions of the enemy. It also was very successful. Tavoy surrendered voluntarily, Mergui was taken by storm, and the people all along the Tenasserim coast came forward of themselves to solicit English protection.

These reverses roused the king of Avá to extra exertions, and he sent two of his own brothers—the princes Tonghoo and Tharawáddy—with a corps of “Invulnerables” and a host of astrologers, against the invaders. A fresh effort to carry the Shoodagon pagoda was made in September, but the result was the same as before. The grapeshot and musketry of the garrison repulsed the boldest of the assailants, and they all ran back again for the covering of the jungles from which they had emerged.

The only reverse met by the English was at Rámoa, where a detachment under Capt. Naton was cut off and some of the men and officers killed by a Burmese party led by one Mengá Mahá Bundoolá, whose success at once promoted him to the post of Commander-in-chief, and to the uncoveted distinction of being sent against the English on the Irráwádi. He came with a following of 60,000 fighting men, and between the 1st and 5th December, made repeated attacks on Kemmendine, all of which were repulsed. He at the same time made desperate efforts to open his way down the river and get possession of Rangoon. These attempts were made at night, when fire-rafts were launched on the stream in the hope of setting fire to the English vessels lying off Kemmendine, or of driving them away from their moorings. But the English sailors understood the game well enough to defeat it; for taking to their boats they pushed off to meet the burning rafts, which they grappled with their grappling irons and conducted past their ships, or stranded on the shore. After this several petty attacks on the British posts were made, but without effect; upon which Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to become the assailant and attack the enemy opposite to Rangoon. The attack was made by two columns aggregating 1700 men, aided by a party of gun-boats to

take the enemy in the rear. It was fully successful, and the Burmese fled; but they returned shortly after to make their last attack on the pagoda, and on being again beaten and driven back on the 7th, Bundoolá went and stockaded himself at Kokeen. Incendiaries were now employed by the enemy to burn the invaders out of Rangoon, and the town was in one night—that of the 14th—fired in several places. This hastened the English attack on Kokeen, and the enemy, driven from all their entrenchments and stockades, were obliged to fall back on Donabew.

In February 1825, Donabew was attacked both by land and water, the water-column being commanded by Genl. Cotton, and the land-column by the Commander-in-Chief. The first was repulsed by an overwhelming force, and made a precipitate retreat, till it was brought up again by the second. In the attack of the 3rd April, which followed, Bundoolá was killed by a rocket, after which neither threats nor entreaties on the part of the other chiefs could prevail on the garrison to stand ground, and the place being deserted was occupied by the English. Immediately, Major Sale had entered the Irráwádi by another of its mouths, and captured Bassein; and this facilitated the advance of the main army upon Prome, which was occupied on the 25th April, without a shot being fired, the enemy having deserted it at night, leaving behind them more than a hundred pieces of artillery and an extensive supply of grain.

These discomfitures were followed by a period of inaction on the part of the Burmese, after which an attempt at negotiation was made, which fell through because the court of Avá refused to concede either money or territory. At the expiration of the armistice hostilities were renewed; and, in November 1825, the English received a check at Wattygoon, where Col. McDowall was repulsed. This emboldened the Burmese to attempt the English lines at Prome, the result of which was that they were defeated at all points, and completely routed. They were defeated again on the heights of Nepadee, and that position captured; and, both banks of the Irráwádi being now

completely cleared, the Commander-in-chief prepared to advance on Melloon. Attempt to gain time was once more made by the enemy by initiating proposals of peace; but the terms were not agreed upon, and Melloon was therefore attacked and carried by assault, in January 1826. A third offer of peace was now made through Dr. Price, a captive American Missionary, but ended by the levy of a new army of 40,000 men, which was named the "Retrievers of the king's glory," and which advanced to give battle. It was met near the city of Pagahm, on the 9th. February, the Burmese opening a random fusilade. As the English forces still moved on, the Burmese rushed forward to meet them, presenting themselves before them with wild and frantic gestures and hideous shouts. But their onset was boldly resisted by the English vanguard, and completely checked. The vanguard however happened to be ill-supported for a moment; and this gave time to the Burmese general to rally. But the sepoy's who came up immediately after fought with great coolness and bravery, and after some anxious moments, the Burmese were beaten back from all points; upon which the country people on all sides submitted to the English, and solicited their protection.

After this victory Sir Archibald Campbell was in full march to Avá, but was stopped at Yandáboo by a deputation of Burmese agents, accompanied by some English and American prisoners, who came to announce the king's acceptance of any terms the English might insist on. A treaty of peace was thereupon concluded, by which the king's claims on Assam and the contiguous states of Jynteáh and Cáchar were renounced, the conquered provinces of Arracan and the Tenasserim were ceded to the English, the payment of a crore of rupees as indemnification for the expenses of the war was agreed to, exchange of accredited ministers between the two courts provided for; and free trade conceded to British subjects in every part of the Burman Empire.

A second Burmese war was got up, in 1852, by the arrogance of the Burmese governor at Rangoon, who set

at nought the commercial treaty secured by the first war, and injured and invaded the property of British subjects in Rangoon in various ways. This affair was a comparatively petty one; and the expedition which was sent out to chastise the enemy, succeeded, in the course of three months, to capture Martaban, Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu; which led to the whole province of Pegu being annexed. The most important change which resulted from this war was a revolution at Avá, where the reigning king was deposed by the party opposed to a continuance of the war, and his brother raised to the throne.

XLIII. THE CAPTURE OF BHURTPORE.

A.D. 1825-26.

WE have mentioned in a previous chapter (XXXIX) how the mud fort of Bhurtpore successfully repulsed four successive attempts made by the English to carry it by assault. The Jâts, who owned the stronghold, made no figure in Indian history previous to the time of Aurungzêbe, when they were best known as a gang of robbers. But the imbecility of the Moguls after Aurungzêbe's death formed the bandits into a nation, occupying a considerable extent of territory around the city of Agra. They were able on an emergency to muster 70,000 troops; but their chief strength lay in their fortresses, among which Deeg, Cumbere, Bianá, and Bhurtpore were the most famous.

The strongest of these fortresses, in fact, the strongest fortress in all India, was Bhurtpore, the rájáh of which was latterly in alliance with the English. He left an infant son, Bulwant Sing, to succeed him, and fearing lest his right should be disputed by others, implored the protection of Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, on behalf of his government. This protection was promised, and when Doorjun Sál, a cousin of Bulwant Sing,

having gained over a large portion of the Bhurtpore troops, seized the person of the boy; Ochterlony assembled the forces immediately available to him and proceeded to attack Bhurtpore, calling upon the Jâts by proclamation to support their lawful chief. This bold procedure, however, was too daring for the nerves of the English Government; the troops collected by Ochterlony were recalled, and the Resident was commanded to withdraw or modify the proclamation he had issued. Ochterlony thereupon threw up his appointment and retired in disgrace; but the Government which had insulted him to this extent had no way of its own to solve the difficulty which had arisen, and was finally compelled to adopt the measures he had planned. The crisis was hastened by a quarrel between Doorjun Sál and his brother Mádhoo Sing, which was fought out near Deeg, Doorjun Sál being defeated. This threw the English frontier in a ferment, the people dividing in parties and joining one side or the other. It became imperative therefore, to put down the Jâts by force of arms.

A large force of about 25,000 men, with more than 100 pieces of artillery, were accordingly, in December 1825, mustered by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, for attacking Bhurtpore, the force of the enemy's garrison being estimated at not less than 20,000 men. It was humanely proposed to Doorjun Sál to remove the women and children from the town; but the suggestion was received as an insult and was not listened to. The siege operations were then commenced, and the batteries opened fire on the 24th December, causing great havoc on the town; but neither cannon-shot nor shell made any impression on the tough mud-wall of the fort, which was from 50 to 60 feet thick. Mines were now sprung, some of which were frustrated by countermines; but the others which exploded effected practical breaches. An immense mine charged with a vast quantity of powder exploded the whole north-east angle of the works, and this caused the largest breach. The assault was ordered on the 18th January 1826; and the troops rushing gallantly forward ascended

the breaches and cleared them, notwithstanding that they had to encounter the most determined opposition. The entire assailing force amounted to about 11,000 men, and was divided into distinct columns that attacked from different sides. Within two hours all the ramparts of the town were in the possession of the besiegers, and the command of the gates of the citadel was fully secured. Doorjun Sál, with 160 chosen horsemen, attempted to force out a passage, but was prevented and made prisoner. One of his wives and two of his sons were also taken, and they were all sent prisoners to Allahabad. The loss of the garrison from the explosion of the great mine alone was estimated at 4,000 men, the total loss being little less than 7000. The loss of the besiegers comprised 61 Europeans and 42 natives, besides whom nearly 500 men were wounded. With the fall of this celebrated fortress the whole of the dominion attached to it was acquired, including the other forts previously named ; and henceforward the entire country west of the Jumna, which had always been restless, quietly accepted the supremacy of Britain. Within the limits of India the English had no powerful enemies now to contend with. The next great war was an aggressive one, carried on beyond the natural boundaries of India.

A PLEA FOR CALCUTTA.

A QUESTION OF THE HOUR.

WHICH is the capital of India? The question may well be resented as suggesting a doubt that is not. Is there a doubt? Seikh and Sikh, Mogul and Maharatta, Parsee and Pathan, have none—have had none, these hundred years. Ask sober historians—ask disinterested foreign travellers; ask dull statisticians—calm geographers; do they give any uncertain sound? Listen to indifferent Goa and Tranquebar and Pondicherry! With them all, the Government of India is the Government of Calcutta. Are the British at all doubtful? Let fickle Qui Hye in a fix, like his fabled prototype between two stacks of hay, alone; the poor fellow is probably helpless—an object of pity; and the *fellee* (if one may coin a feminine word, much needed to enrich the prudent unpunctilious ruling vernacular) his grass-widow in the hills is clearly out of the question, as not a disinterested witness. For the rest, benighted Mull or aspiring Duck never seriously contests the *status quo*, however bitterly the one may complain of his lot, or the other lose no opportunity of preferring, for the future, the claims of his favored abode. Why, indeed, ask? Look around about and—confess!

Neglected of course Calcutta has been for a series of years; all but most shamefully divorced without offence, on a frivolous pretence. Neglected, while she has put forth all her resources—developed all her capabilities—made the most of her great advantage of situation, and abated all its drawbacks, setting her house in order and beautifying it, at great expense of toil and trouble and substance, sinking her *stridhan* (*peculium*) and perhaps impoverishing her children for ever, to fit it for the reception and permanent residence of her Lord Saheb.—Yes! she has made proper harbour for his barks—his men-of-war, merchant-men, and pleasure-yatches—has provided landing places for his embarkation and debarkation, jetties and wharfs and warehouses and counting-houses

for his commerce with the world, and bureaus for the administration of his vast estates in *her* right—the right of the Great Mogul's daughter, his wife—has in ten years conjured up a fairy city, pulled down houses and opened shady squares and paved arcades and perfumed groves—raised palaces in stucco or stone in forms fantastic—laid out parks and gardens and green walks and embowered retreats—put up statues in every corner and lighted up the whole, night after night, all to please her Lord! For he, base man, leaving a few miserable discontented small fry of agents to look languidly after the estates as may be, beyond the master's eye, like a veritable Koolin—lord of a hundred concubines rather than consorts—roams the country over, now flirting with the immodest wench with her tinsel airs, Lucknow, in the mock-Kaiser Bagh, now to the interesting elderly widow, Agra, whispering tenderness in the moonlight under the Taj, now courting that used up proud old queenly termagant, Delhi, whose embrace is death, and anon, in sheer disappointment or sad satiety, retreating in haste from the world to shut himself up within the everlasting hills, and the eternal snows, in the shadow of the Almighty himself—not alas! to pray in sack-cloth and ashes, but—but.—Neglected indeed, but not repudiated yet. By all law, human and divine, Calcutta is the lawful wife—the true and only capital of India.

Time was when Calcutta was better regarded. When she was, indeed, indispensable. When the Lord Saheb was a raw and unknown and uncared for knight, without the present aristocratic or high-Brahmanic pretensions. When he had not conquered the dames of the North, when his addresses would have been rejected with scorn as the crazy aspirings of a sturdy but penniless adventurer without connections. It was his first easy success with the famous brunette of Bengala indeed, that urged on his ambition to universal empire in the East; his connections here that facilitated his views against the other Peris.

Calcutta has, no doubt, manifold imperfections—her own manifest disadvantages. It was not the best site

to found a city on. Calcutta was a child of necessity. Not in pleasure, or in pride was the idea conceived, nor even in fair weather carried out. It was a heaven of a place compared to Injelli, at the mouth of the river, where the English held on to Bengal, after being forced to shut up shop at Hooghly and flee. Deadly as the Salt Water Lake might have proved in that century, to the hard-drinkers, voracious eaters, and day-sleepers of the period, the Lake as a nuisance has been almost suppressed. Lord Wellesly rendered Calcutta a tolerably habitable city of palaces.

Calcutta has had her detractors. Lord Ellenborough contemptuously spoke of the "Commercial Capital of Bengal." It may well be doubted whether his Lordship realized the full import of his words. Those who have no great respect for the deceased Governor-General may even urge that the haughty loneliness of the Laws which he inherited, and which probably cost him his domestic happiness, was ill able to sympathise with the larger interests of the profane vulgar; while the strange femininity of his soul which preferred epaulettes to plain clothes and delighted in the theatrical, hankered for the historical. But take the proud scoffer at his word! Even such as he puts it, the position of Calcutta is not one to despise. To be the port and emporium of that kingdom of the Indian Continent which was the nucleus of the British possessions—which maintained the Court of Delhi and supplied the successors of the Moguls with the sinews of war to make the whole empire their own—that Bengal which has made up, from her abundance, for the annual loss by reckless conquests and imprudent responsibilities selfishly or ambitiously undertaken—is not exactly a fitting butt of statesmanlike derision. More to the point was Lord Hardinge's disappointment. "I must go back to Cairo," said the simple soldier, after his first week at Government House, "I must go back to Cairo to see the East!" That, however, came of Calcutta being the British capital in the East—a European city planted in the midst of Asia. For the rest, it came of driving about Government-Place and the

Esplanade, or sailing straight up the grand Wellesley Road—through fields and orchards, straggling hamlets and uninhabited wastes—to Barrackpore and back. Or, if he had ventured out of the English settlement in the true Eastern direction, he might have seen a few mosques and *Mandirs* to remind him of the quarter of the globe he had been exiled to, of his own free choice. But these architectural monuments are but the prominent drapery of the East—not of its essence. *That* consists in its profound sincerity and humanity and repose—a sincerity which is above taking superfluous pains to conceal and varnish vanity as if it were a grave reproach of our poor human life—a humanity which does not despise the meanest, which postpones beauty and comfort to benevolence—a repose which gives happiness under the greatest trials—all together causing that exhibition of squalor and dirt side by side with barbaric pearl and gold, and of great works run to decay, which so disgusts the restless European, with his veneers and French polishes and portland cement to look like stone and his shirt-frills and cuffs of paper sold separately from shirts. Now, this essence of the East Lord Hardinge might have inhaled, if properly directed by his Baboo instead of his A. D. C.—within a mile or so of his residence.

Calcutta, indeed, is at once a European and an Asiatic city. That, for all human purposes of the present, including even æsthetic, is an advantage over her prouder rivals up the country. Calcutta is the modern Delhi—the Indraprastha of the Kali Yug—the Empire City of the British World in the East—the seat of England as the greatest Asiatic Power.

Yet is Calcutta continually taunted as a City without a past or a future.

On either side the idea is a grievous wrong to Calcutta. She has, God knows, need to apologise for enough substantial shortcomings to be able to bear an unmerited odium. But first as to the worst imputation. No worse abuse than the curse of death! Life may be supported without a pedigree, but the threat of death is

such that one must look about. But, is there ground for alarm? The Government of India has, indeed, proved faithless to its Lakshmi—Goddess of Fortune; and statesmen have generally lost their heads. What then? Calcutta does not wholly depend upon the smiles of power. Calcutta has indeed been systematically neglected for a great many years, and of late almost deserted. Yet she has not been reduced. She has been rising, steadily if slowly. She has, during all this neglect, been cleansing and beautifying herself at enormous cost. If not the political capital, it will be enough if she remains the commercial emporium of Bengal, styled by the great Aurungzebe, the Paradise of Nations. Is there any danger to that alternative prospect? There, I should hope, under Providence, the youthful Queen of the East is tolerably safe.

From time to time, indeed, we are troubled by the auguries of envious outsiders, and the fears of too pessimist insiders, that the Hoogly below the town is silting up, that the Mother of Waters—holy Ganga—shall soon leave the City of Palaces in the lurch, as so many cities have before been forsaken by their guardian Naiads. I believe there is no ground for such an apprehension within some generations to come. The calamity when it does impend, may surely be avoided, or at least to some extent abated, if not indefinitely postponed, by human ingenuity. With the progress of science the impossible has more than ever been abolished; and even the ruder engineering of the past has succeeded in diverting the course of streams. The Suez Canal which has changed the climate of the Egyptian desert and the commerce of the world ought to make us hopeful. Our ancestors did not easily sink under difficulties. The remains of stupendous public works shew how manfully, and not unavailingly, they grappled with the disadvantages of climate and soil. We, their degenerate descendants of these latter days, less accustomed to see man control the grander forces of Nature, are profoundly impressed with the truth that there is no power like divine power. *নচ দৈবাতঃ পরম বলং ॥* We are prepared

meekly enough to resign ourselves to the inevitable, when it does overtake us. Not before that evil time, however, will we listen to the tempter. Not before that will the prophet of evil drive us to give up our legitimate claims. Nevertheless, we shall not be let alone. The minds of our citizens are unsettled by all manner of suggestions and rumours. It is a mercy that the chief owners of Calcutta—the Mullicks, Bysaks, &c.—are not adepts in deciphering letter-press. They knew not a thousandth part of what they were hourly threatened with, or they might have committed suicide, or at least quickly disposed of their properties for a song and gone to end their days in holy retirement at Brindaban.

This Age prides itself upon being the Positive Age. It is not to be done out of its wits by any metaphysical farrago, or to be bequiled by any alluring speculative prospect. How it deceives itself! Look at the thousand and one grounds, good, bad, and indifferent,—ten impracticable and imaginative for one prosaic and sober—for removing the capital to—the Lord know where! It might be Blazes, for anything that the proposers particularly cared. A thousand and one places were pointed out in almost all parts of India, each of which would incontestably make not only a better capital than Calcutta, but absolutely the best. But, for better or for worse, it seems essential, in the view of the agitators, that the experiment should be made and at once. It is the misfortune of India that European political speculators, hardly excepting even any Anglo-Indian ones, in their wildest dreams, their most foolhardy measures, incur no personal risk for themselves or their own.

The whole map has been ransacked to supply a plea for humbling the pride of Calcutta, and all manner of queer suggestions have been made. Some would take us up above the clouds in the Himalayas in Tartary—for Simla is Tartary rather than India. The wiser Mr. Smith of the *Friend of India* was more kind; he was convinced that an unheard-of village among the Ghonds is Nature's Capital of India.* Others would have

* See Art. "Amarkantak, the capital of India."

it higher up; some in the Dehra Doon, some in the Doab. The go-a-head Punjabees of course set their heart upon Lahore, but might put up with Delhi. And Delhi, doubtless, is the historic capital of India—the true City of Palaces as of the Peacock Throne—the Paradise on earth which has inspired the song of poets of all climes. Russophobists, in anticipation of the inevitable advance into Central Asia, would move towards the Frontier. Others, on a variety of reasons, historical, topographical, sanitary, military and so forth, would take nothing less than the City of Akbar—the Great Mogul, *par excellence*. Bombastes Furioso of the West cries himself hoarse for Bombay—the queen of harbours, in direct communication with Europe. But his satisfaction at the unique possession is short-lived, for soon others, on all his grounds, and many more, set up the claims of Kurrachee. The do-nothings and know-nothings and care-nothings of the Services—the triflers whom all play and no work has demoralized—would as I have said, locate the capital up above the clouds, and make-believe to govern Supreme from the peaks of Chinese Tartary.

With a host of publicists like Sir George Campbell the capital ought to be any where—Poona, Nagpore, Umballa, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad—but Calcutta. Such speculators, however, in their vanity of innovation or lust for symmetry, forget the obvious. Thus, the advantages of a central position are counterbalanced by the dangers of possible isolation—the attractions of mountain air and scenery are, of course, an irresistible diversion from work. Did the foreign politics of the Empire demand the moving of the seat of Government westward, Delhi or even Lahore would be a faint-hearted compromise. Why not go the whole hog and start shop or rather stall at Herat! Under such a view, Kurrachee, which is also a harbour in the Arabian sea, as being nearer to Khelat, would seem entitled to preference over Bombay. As to proximity to Europe, the capital may better at once be removed to Aden or Alexandria. For that matter, indeed, our concern is vain; has been ren-

dered superfluous by the calm wisdom and disinterested policy of Great Britain. The capital *de facto* of India for some years past has been London, and the growing disposition is to perpetuate the unblushing arrangement. Strategically, economically, socially and historically, Calcutta is, nevertheless, the true capital. Calcutta and no other! Bombay would leave the Empire too far in the rear. Calcutta commands Bombay as being on the way to Europe. Bombay would be a more efficient auxiliary than a powerful mistress. History has ratified the conclusion of *a priori* reasoning as to Bombay's usefulness as a subordinate administration in time of trouble. For, with far less incentive to exertion than the Panjab, whose own safety was at stake, Bombay rendered invaluable service to the Empire in the crisis of 1857. History has yet to disprove the presumptions against Bombay's superiority as seat of Supreme Government. With regard to moving higher up, in view of recent events and those coming events which have cast their doleful shadow before—the capital may be too near the frontier, and, of course, in danger from surprises. Higher up, in fact anywhere in Northern India, more particularly towards the Panjab, it would be liable to attack. I refer not to external foes alone. Danger may arise where least looked for—in the very province. Among a martial and excitable people, Government could not repose in the unclouded serenity of Lower Bengal. Government in such a locality could not divest itself of the possibility of being cut off from communication with the provinces and the mother-country. Such a capital would be exposed, if not to sudden capture, at least to constant panics,—so fatal to sound administration or calm policy. But if a change to Agra or Delhi or Lahore may have its honest, however more or less modest, recommendations, Simla is utterly indefensible. This, to begin with, not in India: It is “out of humanity's reach.” It is a place more suited to the cloister-life of pensioned Emperors than to hurry and bustle of actual administration. It is fit retreat indeed for “monarchs retired from business.” Such, at all

events, the envy (if you will) of the scorched plains will always imagine the Hills! If it is not a Land of Lotos Eaters, where life itself is an exertion, it is admittedly a delicious Capua where business is an impertinence. Separated by hundreds of miles and by great geographical barriers, from the people and the country for whom Government exists and who maintain it, Simla can never be a natural seat of power—never aught but a capital *per force*—mere *zid*. Government in such a phantastic situation, so dissociated from the nations, so far above all mundane interests, so far beyond the reach of advice or influence of every kind, unless it be that of the moon, to which it is so much nearer, must tend to be, even in the best hands, spasmodic, abnormal. So radically false a position, so anti-social, without the elements for a mutual understanding between the governors and the governed, may, possibly, produce a philosophy of the unconditioned, but not a useful sympathetic human rule.

Government from such a place must be a series of leaps, more or less, in the dark. Nothing can compensate the want of the criticism of a free and instructed press and the co-operation of an intelligent public—the advice of independent public men. These advantages cannot be had for the asking; they cannot be improvised even at the fiat of absolute power. They grow at natural seats of government, under favourable conditions; or *where* they spontaneously grow, Governments make their seats. Government to be sound and efficient must needs sympathise with the people, as it must, in some measure at least, depend upon its sympathy. This sympathy comes of contact and communion. Cut off from sympathy, Governments must be doubly a failure. Sympathy on the one side blunts the edge of folly and absolute wrong, as on the other, it receives folly and wrong even with kindliness. Sympathy is often a better enlightener of the statesman's mind than stiff "proud reason." This inestimable two-fold advantage can be had only at such a place as Calcutta or Bombay. They are not available in anything like equal quantity or of so good a quality

at any of the dozen and one places proposed, which have no commerce of their own, or are not, on independent grounds, the seat of a thriving, intelligent, leisured population. Least of all are they to be thought of in connection with such an out-of-the-way region as Simla.

The same remark applies to a travelling Government. An equestrian politician or a movable column of administration would be a worse sham than the ruler who "Far in a wild, unknown to public view, from youth to age a reverend Hermit grew." The difficulties of carrying on the huge and complicated machinery of a modern state by functionaries oscillating between camp and bivouac are so enormous as almost to shame the most enthusiastic of our Anglo-Indian Abipones. The alleged advantage, for a peripetetic Downing Street, of thorough acquaintance with all parts of the empire, of sympathising with, and drawing the sympathy of, all races and provinces, is a mere pretence. Under the uninterrupted exigencies of daily business there is no time, in such journeyings, for communion or knowledge. The false lights in which, under such circumstances, facts must present themselves, are more misleading than mere ignorance.

A locomotive Government, or a Government skulking the greater part of the year from its true Head Quarters, must necessarily be an ignorant one, in the regular sense. Its coolest, most protracted deliberation might appear hasty, for its mature decisions must often be formed on insufficient data. The Government of India has been fitly called a government of paragraphs. So it is, of necessity, under present circumstances. Even the Government of Russia, whose procedure one might suppose more simple as her forms ruder, is no less so, as Mr Schuyler tells us. Every civilized government must needs be a gigantic court of record. The anomaly of such a court, great or small, divorced from its records, is a type in miniature of the immeasurable absurdity of the Government of India pretending to administer India from the table-land of Kashgar or the borders of the desert of Gobi, with all its archives left thousands of

miles far behind, on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. The official sophists who, goaded on by influences which cannot be avowed, to the desperate defence of an untenable position, talk grandly of the telegraph and the railroad having rendered distance of no account, deceive themselves. So far as one important element in right government is concerned, these powerful motors of matter and mind—steam and electricity—have practically no influence. They cannot supply the absence of libraries and record-rooms. It is hardly necessary to insist on the value of these. Modern administration is, for the most part, literary work—modern statesmanship, in each instance, argument on a particular history. Not a step is, or can be, taken without blotting quires of foolscap or spilling printer's ink. The events and incidents, the successes and failures, the thoughts and arguments, the wishes and even the very musings of each day are carefully storied and preserved for future guidance and use. These monuments of the past prevent waste of energy, time, brain, and of course money, all which might be better employed. *Res judicata* is a plea not oftener heard in courts of justice than in the great court of politics. We are warned against found-out mistakes, told not to trouble ourselves about exploded heresies, or to go in search of proved will-o'-the-wisps. Above all, we need to keep clear of vested interests. At any rate, it is most important to know the state of facts, of every question. Hence the need of unsightly dusty shelves in every office, spacious lumber rooms in every department, vast repositories at every capital. These neglected treasures of the Government of India are only at Calcutta. They are not, and cannot well be, transported to any other place, not to say Simla. But beyond these special depositories of gubernatorial lore, a modern government is ever in need of general literature of all kinds—from pamphlets of the hour and octavos of the day to folios of the past. Government in these days, to be not only satisfactory, but barely instructed, must be continually assisted by well informed men and well-stocked and ever-supplied libraries. Not to speak of such men, who

must always abound only in cities with great natural advantages, steam could not transport, as required, collections of books or papers, nor electricity reproduce their contents; if they could, they could not supply the means of reference at large store-houses. How often have the most deliberate consultations of Simla been discredited by their *prima facie* absurdity! How often has the most undoubted cleverness gone for nothing, in that proud Olympus! How often have the most brilliant minutes admired in the Hills been laughed at in down country for crudity! How often have we had to lament the ignorance which has detracted from the practical value of the most humane proceedings conceived and matured in the lone heights of the Himalayas. The Government of a great and distant empire by a handful of foreigners, aliens in everything but the common humanity, unacquainted with the language, manners, customs, feelings and traditions of the people, never brought in familiar social contact with them, and, as regards the chief ruler, not remaining long enough in the country for tolerably superficial acquaintance with the country, is peculiarly exposed to the weakness and vices of ignorance. It is a crime to increase wilfully, that is without ample necessity, the normal certainties of that ignorance, as the Government has been doing by keeping itself out of the way of all help, of all books, of its own records. That Government is itself sore at the Secretary of State's interference with its own functions. It argues that the Government on the spot is a better judge of matters than the minister in London. The Minister laughs at the pretension! The reasoning might have some chance, coming from a Government of Calcutta, or, in right earnest, of anywhere in the plains—anywhere in *India*. The Minister knows that the Government is *not* on the *spot*. If the Governor-General can govern India through the telegraph from Simla, it is but a slight stretch of the pretension to govern with the same instrument from London. I believe that the Secretary of State at the India Office is better able to do justice to Indian questions than a peripetetic

Viceroy wandering over the country, portmanteau in hand, and finally lost, the greater part of his time, in the clouds, surrounded by a few rolls of paper, a book or two, beyond the reach of opinion, necessarily at the mercy of his loudest colleague, or of a somewhat long-memoried clerk at head quarters. These successive Governors General who have succumbed to the blandishments of Simla little know how much they have contributed to degrade their high office; how they have supplied Home politicians with arguments for making the whole administration of India, with its details and patronage, an appanage of the Home Government of India; how they are playing into the hands of British Statesmen without a political conscience.

So far from Government at Simla being advantageously placed to initiate a sound policy at home,—or to direct active operations on the frontier, its familiarity with model administration by ukases of Deputy Commissioners, under the law of Military Squires, is a positive evil and may yet end in disaster. The non-regulation air of the neighbouring provinces—must be hurtful to a constitutional ruler. Already Simla threatens to overturn the entire glorious fabric of British constitutionalism, while the Government there labors under the permanent risk of being any moment cut off from the sources of its strength. Calcutta, on the contrary, is a power in the midst of men, enlightened and courageous enough to advise honestly, whose opposition itself must have a purifying strengthening effect on the half dozen lone old gentlemen who govern. Calcutta is in fertile, industrious, easily governed Bengal which has made up for so much folly, extravagance, and loss. With a well-disposed population able to support armies, Bengal may, at the worst, be maintained by British valour and statesmanship, against the rest of India and the world, and the British should never forget that Fort William is the last stronghold of their dominion in the East as it has been the first. As for all the talk about the demands of frontier policy, the work may be done more coolly, surely, firmly, from a distance than at or near the frontiers. *There all*

sense of proportion is apt to be lost, even the correct relations of things missed. We should take care to be not too far off. With the magic wire to pull and all ready, and the iron horse in full harness hissing impatiently at the door, Calcutta is as near the remotest corners of the Empire as need be, in spirit and sufficiently distant in the flesh for serenity of thought and conduct as well as substantial safety. And then, from the way some people talk, it would seem as if all our frontiers are converged to the North West. No! India like other countries has boundaries in all directions of the compass, and vulgar wisdom commands us to look behind as well as before. The Empire seems destined to develop or at least to be recollected, more surely in a direction different from, indeed opposite to, that of Central Asia. The proud old empires of Burmah and China are restless under the wrongs we have inflicted on them, or the indignities to which we have put them, and Calcutta is the best and most natural base of operations against them. Nor are our most formidable enemies in the future expected by land. For such a contingency Calcutta is extremely well situated. It is just the London in the East of a great naval power like Great Britain.

We need scarcely point out the impolicy of shifting the seat of government with every change of frontier, or every addition to its possessions. A capital is not only a city—a mere cluster of houses, however magnificent—but a moral entity—a being of power, calling up associations, exercising a spell by its very name. A capital perpetually on the wing—on the *qui vive* to pack up for another province on every change of fortune, can never settle down into such a glorious institution—such a dearly beloved personage as Paris or Vienna. Such a capital for the British in the East, Calcutta had very nearly become when the unstatesman-like mania for Simla and Ootacamund and the Lord knows where else, born of ease and indulgence, unchecked by effective public opinion, shook it to its centre.

THE PLANET:

A DREAM OF ANOTHER WORLD.

BY GAEKWAREE.

PREFACE.

THE following stanzas are a hybrid production: partly the offspring of a *bona fide* dream; partly the result of reading and speculation. The author *had* such a dream, and the commencement and end of the poem, great part its action, nearly all its scenery, and many of its accessories are directly derived from impressions of that vision. So also, much of the spirit breathed in it was drawn from the author's recollection of the feelings experienced during the dream. But this framework has been filled out by padding from at least two other sources.

It occurred to the author that the dream-idea might be made serviceable in the elucidation and illustration of many problems of actual life and Speculative Philosophy. The persistent and ever-recurring idea (true, as evidenced by its universality, though it is now the fashion among a certain school to pooh-pooh it) of the "good old times"; the natural longing of mankind for wandering and adventure; the irrepressible instinct of the race for war and the chase, which no repression, whether of religious systems or legal restraints, has ever sufficed to extinguish; the *rationale* of Revolutionary impulses; the modern craving for a return to the primitive condition of communism;—all these have been incidentally touched on.

In doing so it was necessary to "go back to the fountain-head," to trace the river of human life to its source. In this effort the author has had to embody the researches of Darwin, Huxley, and Lubbock, and the observations of many travellers on the wild races of the earth and their customs.

In order to display a complete panorama of primitive life, it has been necessary to touch on a delicate subject—the relation of the sexes. The advisability of so doing will be judged differently by different people, according to the religion they believe in, or the school of morality they belong to. The author can only urge that without touching on this—"the root of all evil"—"the great end of human strife"—his *tableau* would have been incomplete, and incomplete in one of its most important features, and that in treating the subject he has endeavored to be as little offensive as possible.

I DREAMT a dream of a distant world—
A world as yet in its youth—
Of a world not worn-out and patched-up like ours,
But still true to the God of Nature's truth.

II.

I stood on the slope of a forest-clothed hill,
And down before me lay
A mighty stream, rolling through wooded plains
To the distant mountains away.

III.

And vast, and massive, and broken, they loomed
On the wide horizon far;
Towering and rugged and pointing high,
They seemed with the sky to war.

IV.

Further than ever on our little world
By mortal eye was seen,
Stretched away the wild hills, and the flower-decked sward,
And the masses of forest green.

V.

And a strange vegetation of unknown forms
Stood around and waved o'er my head,
And huge flying creatures swooped past through the air,
All green, and gold, and red.

VI.

And above in the heavens two mighty orbs
Were poised in the azure sky,
Grey, leaden, and dull in the moon-tide glare—
Of the hue of the cloud when the storm is nigh.*

* The impression of the dream was that the two satellites alluded to were near enough to their primary to be visible in the day and give the appearance in the text.

VII.

And the rustle of life was all round about,
 From the click in the breast-high grass
 To the splash and the roar of the cloven stream
 As some mighty beast to the bank did pass.

VIII.

And I felt that this world was not as ours,
 Used up and "improved" by man;
 But that all things yet, as by nature planned,
 In their wonted order ran.

IX.

And I too felt young, and joyous, and strong,
 Once more in the novel air;
 For I knew I had left, on our bankrupt old globe,
 Much of the load of human care:

X.

The ties, and the fears, and the galling chains
 Forged by man for himself;
 The "struggle for life" and its thousand pains;
 The pitiful craving for pelf:

XI.

The bigot's rage in the name of God;
 The respectable Philistine's sneer;
 The efforts to wring from the over-worked soil
 The pittance bought by the poor so dear:

XII.

The thousand diseases that soar on the breeze
 Where stinks a dying earth;²

² Small-pox, Syphilis, Cholera, Dengue, Measles, Gonorrhoea, Yellow Fever, and (I believe, but am not quite certain) Hydrophobia, were all unknown to the ancient Physicians. And no wonder. They are the result of the complication of organic chemical influences, spread by mercantile dissemination. In other words, products of the world's ferment and decomposition.

The thousand fancies that creeds have put forth
To poison the soul from its birth :

XIII.

The thousand laws that tyrants have framed
To enslave the body, born free ;
The invisible chains that custom has forged,
Stronger than laws to the mind to be :

XIV.

The cramping, the striving, the dull despair ;
The heart that is sick unto death ;
The ne'er-ending fight which begins with the birth,
To close but with the latest breath :

XV.

The hopes that but end in a bitter repulse ;⁴
The food which but brings with it pain ;⁵
The accursed need that must snatch from the weak
Whatever enjoyment we gain :⁶

XVI.

The humbug of those who pretend to be good,
The folly of those who are so ;⁷
The hard-hearted pride of those that are high ;
The black hate of those that are low :⁸

⁴ Many who would face a cannon-ball would not face a prejudice. The man who durst stab a king would probably shrink from violating many conventionalities.

⁵ No more ! No more ! No, never more on me
The freshness of the heart shall fall like dew.

BYRON.

⁶ "Ah,"—says the Indian proverb—"that God had given no stomach !" The absence of that organ would undoubtedly save us much toil, cringing, and indignation.

⁷ Do we ever reflect that every morsel we eat—every honor we win—every object we attain—is won at the expense of some one or something physically, or intellectually, inferior to ourselves ?

⁸ However the avowal may offend the squeamish, there is no doubt that "goodness" (that is to say, goodness beyond a certain temperature which may be called that of self-interest) does not advance a man much in this world. The high positions are too often of what may be called the "whitewashed villain" type, though undoubtedly brilliant exceptions exist.

⁹ Look at the Aristocrats and Republicans in Europe.

XVII.

The conquerors' arrogant bluster and boast ;⁹
 The curse of the nations subdued ;¹⁰
 The wretches immured for deeds which they
 But committed for lack of food ;¹¹

XVIII.

The commerce that bears with it death and disease ;¹²
 The law which but injures the poor ;¹³
 The sham show of pity which preaches and prays
 While famine is nearing each door :

XIX.

The teaching which offers the Stoic's¹⁴ creed
 To forms all throbbing with life :—

* 'Ah'—says the Englishman—'there is no finer spectacle in the world than the British Empire in India. If it were not for us the country would exhibit an appalling scene of anarchy and desolation. No native sovereign would rule so impartially as we do.' He then proceeds to give "Jankee" his thrashing and write to the newspapers in defence of some measure which will take the bread out of the mouths of some thousands of Indians to put money in the pockets of Manchester. All for the good of India !

⁹ Vide Ireland, India, Poland, Alsace and Lorraine, and, till quite recently Italy and Hungary.

¹¹ Statistical returns are known to show that a period of *scarcity* is almost invariably a period of *crime*. As a matter of fact no one not absolutely insane (as for instance kleptomaniacs) ever does any of the actions called crimes except to supply some want, moral or physical. This fact, but for the mists of prejudice which Gothicism and Christianity have flung over civilization, would sufficiently indicate the remedies needful.

¹² Livingstone in his first book of travels mentions that none but the most simple and so to speak *natural* diseases (as Fever, Rheumatism, Indigestion, Colic, &c.) were known among the South African tribes who had but little intercourse with the Whites. He, as well as other travellers, often allude to the advent of virulent and pestiferous diseases as connected with the advance of Europeans. The same is known to have been the case in America and Polynesia. Only the other day, increased intercourse with Europeans produced an epidemic of Measles (by which hundreds perished) in the Feejee Islands. What a benefit of civilization !

¹³ Does any one but a *poor* Indian (whose ancestors lived under a different regime, which had its faults doubtless, but *this* was not one of them) ever realise the helplessness of a poor, stricken and ignorant man in the face of the fees, the lawyers, the delays, and the technical intricacies of modern law ?

¹⁴ The duty of man, according to one school of morality and philosophy, is to repress his instincts and limit his enjoyments—then to what end was he born ? The Christians and Mahomedans have a partial answer, but satisfactory only to the most implicit believers.

Which talks but of peace and of order to those
Whose nerves are thrilling for strife :¹⁶

XX.

The narrowing rivers,¹⁶ all tainted with filth,¹⁷
That flow through the naked lands ;
The once-green fields covered with smoke-blackened dens
To shelter the starving "hands :"

XXI.

The once moist earth dry from its woods cut down ;¹⁸
The pasture land planted for food ;¹⁹
The mines fast drained of the coal which serves
When the forests no more yield wood :²⁰

¹⁶ Those who prate so much of "Peace and Order" should first consider whether these are attainable without stagnation—whether the normal condition of the whole universe is not rather one of war and collision—"Peace" meaning Death, and "Order" Slavery.

"They made a Wilderness and called it Peace."

¹⁷ It is a well-known fact that the "improvement" of a district i. e. the cutting of its woods and the draining of its marshes—diminishes its rain-fall and *par consequence*, reduces the volume of its rivers. This process can be seen in miniature on the edges of the great Indian forests. The same has been the case in America.

"Before these woods were shorn and tilled
Full to the brim our rivers ran"

W. C. BRYANT.

¹⁸ In some of the oldest and most civilised countries of Europe, where sewage for many years has been poured into the Rivers, the latter have absolutely become so foul that fish find it impossible to exist in them.

¹⁹ It is believed that some of the tracts which are now most bare and sterile were anciently not only fertile but well provided with wood and water. Parts of Babylonia, Palestine, and Persia, as well as large tracts of Tartary, are considered instances of this. So perhaps is part of the "Indian Desert". It may be remarked that these were the seats of the earliest known civilizations and therefore perhaps the soonest exhausted.

²⁰ Every year large quantities of land, hitherto appropriated to pasture and therefore maintaining its natural equilibrium, are being reclaimed for tillage, to be, in turn, exhausted as other lands have been before them.

²⁰ England has almost destroyed her forests ; at least she cannot do without importing foreign wood. In addition to this, the expenditure of her coal is so great that a few years since the papers and magazines were filled with speculations as to how long it would last. The average estimate was between 200 or 300 years only. England is an extreme case, but all the countries of the world are more or less in the same path—exhausting their natural resources at the commands of a rotten social system, a spurious civilization, and a false moral scheme.

XXII.

The cant of the minions by Governments raised,
 With their demi-god nod of the head,
 Who prate coolly that "order must be maintained"
 To millions crying for bread :²¹

XXIII.

The cant of the Liberal who thinks all is cured
 If once his Republic's proclaimed ;
 Who tries to calm all that jammed, writhing life-mass,
 By a free Constitution new-framed :²²

XXIV.

The cant of the Christian with Bible in hand,
 That "the Gospel will set all things right ;"
 Who talks about—"yielding to smiters your cheek"
 To those who for life must fight :²³

XXV.

The cant of Free-traders,²⁴ that all will be well
 If cotton is largely supplied,
 Although for each acre on which 'tis raised
 Some one of famine has died :

²¹ "The children ask for bread, and they give them a stone"—No ! stones are too rude an expedient for the Nineteenth Century—volleys of musketry.

²² The greatest mistake the Republicans ever made was in allying themselves with, and believing themselves to be, the Party of "Progress"—whereas, in reality, your Republican is the only true Conservative—nay, Retrogradist !—the outcome of the world's yearning for a return from Modern inventions to Primeval Liberty.

²³ The failing of the Christian system is and ever has been, not that its Ideal is bad in itself but that it is practically so incompatible with the ordinary conditions of life on the earth that it more than any other creed, has ever been a matter of externals—has never practically permeated beneath the surface of human society.

²⁴ This is the most insufferable of all cant—the monstrous assumption that, because the fortunate possession of coal and iron mines has made this doctrine beneficial to England when combined with her insular position, it must be a panacea for the ills of all other countries however differently circumstanced. India is the only country which has been at her mercy for a trial of it, and behold the result !

XXVI.

The cant of the Moralists preaching so grim
Of Industry's blessings to those
Whose life, a long slavery from end unto end,
Has no Leisure, and scanty Repose.²⁵

XXVII.

I had left the curse on the earth, behind !
I was free on an unknown soil !
Why should I sadden ? Why should I fear ?
Why should I cringe or toil ?

XXVIII.

I owned no wealth, and I had no lord.
Of no other care had I need
But that of the beasts and the birds around—
To find whereon to feed.

XXIX.

Why should I work ? why should I steal ?
Why should I cheat or lie ?
No being starved in that world around :
Wherefore then should I ?

XXX.

True no Government held its shield above ;
No law guarded my life ;
No policeman was there to call for help
In case of sudden strife.²⁶

²⁵ To any but the most prejudiced minds, there can be no doubt of the immense increase of burdens on the poorer classes entailed by what is called the "progress of civilization." Leaving all other considerations aside, can none of my readers personally remember the condition of the poor of India thirty years ago ? The fact is patent, and evidenced in the decline of the great national festivals—the Holi, the Decwalee, the Mohurram. Alas ! they have now neither leisure to enjoy nor money to spend on them. Where is the May-day of England ?

²⁶ The Genesis of Slavery, whether National or Personal, is the reliance on another for protection of any sort.

XXXI.

What did I fear ? What did I care ?
 Was I not better without ?
 Could I not fight for my chosen lair
 As well as the brutes about ?

XXXII.

And if I was slain by a beast of prey,
 Or stung by some deadly worm,
 What did I know ?—what did I care ?—
 What became of my lifeless form ?

XXXIII.

Is it not better to die in health,
 In the heat of a struggle fierce,²⁷
 Than to rot out your life in pursuit of wealth,
 While trouble and sickness your marrow pierce ?

XXXIV.

Is it not better to die unwept,
 With the sky looking down through the trees,
 Than with friends all sobbing and weeping around
 And women clasping your knees ?

XXXV.

Is it not better to know you will lie
 In the wilderness all alone,
 Than to know you leave loved ones to weep and to strive
 With the world when your spirit's flown ?

²⁷ It is mere puritanism to deny that the combative instinct is strong in all Nature. The pleasure of fight is a *real* pleasure, as truly real and physical as the satisfaction of any other appetite. And to say that death is more "horrible" when it comes suddenly in a contest into which the actor has entered willingly, urged by a natural instinct, than when it comes on by lingering and agonising approaches, with tortures of disease that are worse than death, is nonsense. Why do the very Christian moralists who declaim against war consider it good to "put a sick animal out of its pain?" Is man to be denied a

XXXVI.

Is it not better to think your corpse
Will be fanned by the jungle air,²⁸
Than that earth will press like a load on your breast
With the death-worms wriggling there?

XXXVII.

Yes! and I saw the land around
Smiling with Nature's store.
No one to stop me—guard, hedge, or wall—
What could I wish for more?

XXXVIII.

All to discover! every thing new!
The possible all around!
Every thing new—every thing fair,
All to be sought and found!

XXXIX.

Who knew how far the forest stretched?
What in its depths was pent?
How high the mountains reared their heads?
Or where the river went?

XL.

What dangers lurked around the path?
What wonders were to see?
What the use was of grass, or herb,
Or of animal or tree?

²⁸ Probably the Parsee custom of exposing their dead is a "survival" of primitive customs. If divested of sundry revolting concomitants as at present practised, it would be, for small populations and ample territory, the best mode of sepulture devisable. For crowded territories some form of cremation after a rational interval had elapsed, would have to be adopted for sanitary reasons. I confess that either of these seem to me infinitely more cheerful and preferable than the "earthing up" now prevalent with the majority of mankind.

XLI.

And I felt with each breath of the virgin air
 The spirit within me warm
 That flowed from Homer's and Valmiki's tongues,
 And nerved Achilles' arm.²⁹

XLII.

That sent Jason out for the golden fleece,
 And poured forth in the Rigved's song;
 That from the page of the Shemite³⁰ sage
 Has wrapt the world so long.

XLIII.

And I felt the strength a dragon to slay—
 A soul with Titan to climb—
 And all in my brain the joy and the power
 Of man in the olden time.

XLIV.

And I rent a plant from the earth close by
 And fashioned it into a spear:
 Free and armed—with no human tie—
 What need I fret at? What did I fear?

XLV.

And I forced my way through the virgin wood,
 Through the waves of long, rustling grass;
 O'er fallen trees, o'er strange-colored stones
 Cheerily did I pass.

²⁹ I think there can be no question whatever that it was the sensation of illimitable *range* due to their physical ignorance and absence of tuition—to the mental freshness of treading unexplored ground—which gave the old classical authors of all countries that extraordinary vigor and luxuriance which is their chief characteristic. With them was no fear of plagiarism—no dread of hackneyed incident—no terror of violating probability. Away they dashed to Olympus and Vaibkunth and Valhalla! and brought back for us the Iliad and the Edda and the Ramāyan.

³⁰ Job—the oldest and most sublime author (if indeed *he* was the author of the book called after him) in the Bible.

XLVI.

Till I entered a glade the whirlwind had torn²¹
Through the towering trees around,
And there some branches piled up into cones
Looking like huts I found.

XLVII.

At the crash of my footsteps some forms came out ;
They were not like those of earth ;
Smaller but quicker and fairer were they,
Fresh as the world which saw their birth.

XLVIII.

They closed on me as we close on a beast
But I sat me down on the ground,
And when they saw I nor fought nor fled,
They grouped themselves around.

XLIX.

They talked 'mongst themselves in an unknown tongue,
And at last they talked to me,
And I replied with signs as I could
That I their friend would be.

L.

They led me up to their huts of boughs,
They drew me into a door,
They laid of the food which they eat themselves
Before me a goodly store.

LI.

And when at last we laid us down
For the long, long night to rest,

²¹ In dense forests whirlwinds sometimes cut straight lanes through the wood, uprooting trees and scattering them in all directions. Such avenues are called "wind-rows" in America.

One of their females was brought, and laid
Beside me breast to breast.²²

LII.

I lived with them, I learnt their tongue,
I loved the life I led.
Never, mankind! shall ye know such bliss
Of freedom, but in a dream, or—*dead!*

LIII.

We gathered the fruits so abundant there;
We chased the beasts through the wood;
We shared the birds that flew in the air;
We dug up roots for food.

LIV.

We slept in the noon in the shady dells;
We gambolled beneath the moonlight;
We swam the rivers; we plucked the flowers;
Oh! we slept so sound at night.²³

LV.

No money had we to hoard or rob;
No laws to grind the poor;
And if any dispute among us arose,
'Twas settled before the hut-door.

LVI.

And if no agreement could there be made,
Each took his weapons of war,
And dived into the wood, and but *one* returned:
We ne'er saw the other more.

²² This is by no means an unusual custom in Africa at the present day. To provide a stranger with a wife is one of the recognised duties of a hospitable chief—as much as giving a guest a good dinner or a bed is with us. Most of the recent travellers describe this custom, *sometimes* explaining that they declined the proffered courtesy. See also a Latin account of Australian customs in this respect in the appendix to Sir John Lubbock's "Primitive Man." In Captain Burton's Travels in Eastern Africa he mentions that "Paul" at "Mhata" offered him his sister as a wife *pro tem*.

²³ As a corollary. It is the mental strain of our unnatural life that "murders sleep."

LVII.

He fell or he fled, and in either case,
Both they and we were at ease.
Was that not better than wrangling of courts,
Suspense, and lawyers' fees?

LVIII.

No trader brought pestilence packed with his goods.
From cities far away,
But with good digestions, and iron frames,
We lived from day to day.

LIX.

And when any were helpless from wounds or age,
They were placed by the river's brink,
And a strong decoction of poisonous herbs
Was given to them to drink.³⁴

LX.

And in a soft slumber they passed away
Without either struggle or pain,
And their bodies were left to rot where they lay,
And mix with the earth again.

LXI.

And *they* feared not death, and *we* feared not death,
For 'twas seen to be nature's end;
And there was no tale of Demon or Hell
A terror vague to lend.³⁵

³⁴ It is said that this was the way in which many ancient tribes disposed of their sick and aged. Traces of this custom still survive in Folklore which has tales of cities where men were considered "dead" as soon as their heads ever ached. - Another "survival" is the "Jal-dág" on the banks of the Ganges by Hindoos.

³⁵ The mental anguish which has been caused to thousands of human beings by the terrible pictures presented by various creeds as to the "state after death" is incalculable, and the intellectual and physical injury done by it inestimable. Of all these doctrines perhaps the climax as an engine of torture is the grotesque and horrible pseudo-Christian legend which connects the half-human half goatish personification of the Chaldean "god" Satan with the Jewish refuse-pit "Jehunna."

LXII.

I lived with them, and they loved me well,
 For I taught them to strike a light,
 And to make reed-pipes, and to dance, and to sing,
 And use bows and arrows in flight.

LXIII.

And their females also loved me well,
 And some followed me every where;
 For marriage and jealousy, coyness or shame,
 Were never heard of there."

LXIV.

No man or woman was bound at all,
 But consorted as each had a mind,
 And your fondling mate of to-day was not so
 To-morrow, unless inclined.

LXV.

And if any man felt for a woman love,
 He approached her, although 'twas day,
 And seized her hand, though many stood by,
 And led her as booty away.

LXVI.

But if she resented his order, she fled.
 And eluded him if she could,
 And many a long love chase I saw
 Through the primeval wood.

and rolls the whole together into a "devil" and a "hell." It has been the practice of some "Christian" writers to found arguments on what they call the "deathbed repentances" of some noted adversaries of their creed. Well! and if this be so, what is proved? Nothing, but that most of those alluded to having been brought up as Christians, the terrifying influences brought to bear on their childhood regained power when the strength of mind and body was alike at its lowest ebb!

■ See Sir John Lubbock's dissertation on primitive marriage. He is of opinion that originally all females were held in common, and that the institution of marriage derives its source from the exclusive right of property obtained by a man over a female captured in war.

LXVII.

And if any loved her better than he,
He straight to the rescue ran,
And nobody parted the lovers twain
As they battled man to man.

LXVIII.

So one was beaten, and fled for his life,
And one the fair one gained;
So the great end of human strife³⁷
Was then and there attained.

LXIX.

But I taught them none of the pestilent arts³⁸
Which here we civilized name—
To count, dig, or dress, or the forest to fell,
Or vile tools of labor to frame.

LXX.

I gave no hint of our earthly laws,
Nor how we tyrants obey;
Nor taught them to write, nor taught them to build,
To weave or make vessels of clay.

LXXI.

I taught them to draw with colored earths,
But not the field to plough;
I taught them to wear feathers in their hair,
But no creature to slavery to bow.

³⁷ A certain Judge is reported to have invariably asked when a case (of any kind whatever) came before him—"Who is she?" On being asked the reason he replied, "that there never was a row but a woman was at the bottom of it, and that if he got full particulars about *her*, the rest of the investigation was a mere bagatelle."

³⁸ I have endeavored in the three following stanzas (but doubtless, owing to pressure for space and the exigencies of metre and construction, very imperfectly) to hint at the distinction of the "Hellenic" Idea of Civilization, i. e., the culture of the "Beautiful"—Art as employed in administering *directly* to human employment—and the "Hebraic" idea—Utilitarianism *in excelsis*—Science and "Progress" strained for the attainment of some iron Juggernaut of Material Prosperity, Religious Unity, or Political Order, and making the immediate welfare of the creatures it uses a secondary consideration to the fulfilment of its Theory.

LXXII.

And war we had, for there as here,
 Many wanted what others had got ;
 And when they tried to obtain their will,
 The others opposed them, fierce and hot.³⁹

LXXIII.

And I stood with the tribe when to battle they went,
 And great was the fame I gained,
 For the skill I had learnt in the wars of earth
 Was not yet there attained.⁴⁰

LXXIV.

And my strength was greater, my mien more fierce,
 And deadlier the weapons I bore ;
 And they fled from my face, though ten to one,
 When we closed in the forest hoar.

LXXV.

So we passed the time in a careless life,
 Living the Present alone ;
 We nor feared the Future nor mourned the Past
 With earth's bitter, fruitless moan.

XXVI.

And as long as we pleased we in friendship dwelt,
 And when we disputed, we fought ;
 And when any one thought that he was oppressed,
 The forest's depth he sought.

LXXVII.

And he died or he joined another tribe,
 And never troubled us more.

³⁹ The great tyranny of modern life is the Universality of Conditions—the Unity or increasing Uniformity of Existence everywhere, and the consequent inability to excuse for any one who finds those conditions irksome. . He remains a thorn in the side of Society—rotting himself—painful to it.

⁴⁰ So Kadmus, Kekrops, Xantzalcoatt, Manca Capac, &c., and all other foreign reformers.

So no slave repined, nor captive pined,
Nor pauper starved at our door.⁴¹

LXXVIII.

Oh how I remember that life of bliss !
Oh how I hate this earth !
Oh how I mourn the unlucky chance
That gave me upon it birth !

LXXIX.

For one day with a sweetheart I roamed those woods,
When a mangled corpse we found,
With head all crunched and bowels ripped up,
A heap of flesh on the ground.

LXXX.

And I asked the girl what had caused its death,
And she named a monstrous beast,
But she trusted the strength they believed I possessed,
And did not fear the least.

LXXXI.

And when we had travelled some distance on,
We saw it beneath a tree.
We thought it was gorged and would do us no harm,
So we turned about to flee.

⁴¹ This stanza was introduced to mark the author's disagreement with the "Jean Jacques Rousseau" school, and to disclaim any adoption of the idea of the "noble and innocent savage." Indeed his principal contention is that under no condition of life—in no era however distant—has been, or ever will be human nature essentially different from what it is here and now ; that any seeming difference of feeling or conduct is only due to the variation of external circumstances, and that, consequently, any alleviation of the condition of mankind must come from a deep study of human nature and, as far as practicable, an adjustment of conditions to suit it, while any attempt to bind it on the Procustean bed of any preconceived theory of Religion, Law, or Morality will only result in present increase of suffering and ultimate failure.

LXXXII.

It saw us, and rose, and towards us sprang
 With its hideous, gnashing teeth—
 All fire, and gold, and monstrous claws
 And glittering scales beneath.

LXXXIII.

As it darted forward the girl fled away,
 And I threw myself between :
 In that world as yet I had known no fear—
 I had always the victor been.*

LXXXIV.

And I plucked an arrow from out the sheaf,
 And fitted it to my bow,
 And aimed direct at a monstrous eye,
 And then with a twang let go.

LXXXV.

I saw it strike in the flaming orb—
 I saw it sink half in—
 I heard the brute in its anguish roar—
 Till the forest echoed the din !

LXXXVI.

It stopped : it staggered : it almost sank—
 But with doubled fury it charged ;
 And as it came on, I a second shaft
 With frenzy's strength discharged.

* The absence of fear in some dreams (and let me add the intense and causeless terror in others) is a curious fact. We spring from the roofs of houses, plunge recklessly into mile-wide rivers, assail armed hosts, sword in hand wrestle, naked-handed with lions, &c., in a careless way no hero probably ever did in his waking moments. This feeling of audacity was, I remember, conspicuous in the dream which formed the groundwork of the text. Not only did I seem perfectly undaunted by the appearance of a creature whose terrific *ensemble*, I confess, I lack the skill to portray as it appeared to me, but I have a perfect recollection of a momentary flush (so to speak) of triumph thrilling through my brain as I turned to close with the brute, of being perhaps the first of mankind to combat with a veritable dragon, unless indeed old legends are true, and creatures, from whom these tales are derived once really existed.

LXXXVII.

But I missed the eye, and the arrow back
From the scaly forehead sprang,
And I saw the giant form of the brute
In the air above me hang!

LXXXVIII.

And I thrust fiercely upwards with my spear
Where I saw a likely place ;
And felt the staff glide in up to the hand,
And warm blood spout o'er my face.

LXXXIX.

And there came a blow that dashed me down !
In my eyes a flash—in my ears a roar—
And long fangs griped through my shivering flesh—
And I died with a pang—to dream no more !

XC.

Would that I never had dreamed that dream !
It made me sick of the earth:
What potion will bring my body again
To the state that gave it birth ?

XCI.

I have tasted the joys our ancestors knew,
In the ages long ago,
Ere man for a mess of pottage base⁴³
His birth-right of freedoms did forego.

⁴³ In the Bible (Book of Genesis) Eesau, the "wild man" sells his birth-right to Jacob (the ancestor of the Hebrews) for a "mess of pottage." There is no doubt about this being a very ancient legend, and its exact meaning is involved in mystery. Of course, the Jewish and Christian commentators make out that the birth-right sold was either political supremacy or the honor of being the progenitor of the Messiah. But, as a matter of fact, Edom (which is personified and identified with Eesau) was nearly always independent of, and sometimes superior to, Israel (typified by Jacob,) and there are no signs whatever (even in the Bible) to excuse the most strained application of the Messianic idea this story,

XCII.

Ere he made his hands, all unarmed and chained,
 To the tyrant's lust submit;
 Ere he sought of others the safety and ease
 Obtainable only of strength and wit ;

XCIII.

Ere he brought his free neck to the yoke of law—
 His free mind to the rule of the priest—
 And for paltry pelf, and for poltroon sloth,
 Put on bonds disdained by bird and beast ;

XCIV.

Ere the arms made to battle, the limbs for speed,
 To the villein's drudgery bowed,
 And the spirit free of the forest wilds
 By a master's frown was cowed."

XCV.

Tis said they believe in the Prairies that
 When a Red Man his spirit yield,
 It gallops away on a mustang grey
 To the Happy Hunting Fields.

unless, of course, the applier is a bigoted Christian determined to have it so. I myself think the most direct and simple explanation would be to suppose that Esau renounced in Jacob's favor the chieftainship and supremacy of his father's house, being willing to trust his own right arm for acquiring consequence elsewhere. Anyhow the story is a remarkable typification of the manner in which the "wild man" loses his freedom—for the comforts and the luxuries—the safety and the temporary plenty of "Jacob" (the Hebraic ideal)—the specious delusions of civilization—"the blankets and the fire-water of the Pale-faces."

"Travellers continually allude to the thrilling sensations of freedom, and careless happiness, and returning health, experienced when wandering in the forest or the Prairie. We need not go so far. Any one who will mount his horse, sling on his gun, and stroll forth into the wildest bit of country accessible to him for a few days, will feel the sensations alluded to (unless, of course, his education has been so effeminate that absolute physical fear overpowers the natural feeling enjoyment) and will return convinced that, after all, man is naturally a denizen of the wilds and that his nature incessantly labors to "return to the original type."

XCVI.

Oh ! that it may be true, and that those I saw
May be where our souls are whirled,
And that I may be sent when my time is spent
Into that far distant world ;

XCVII.

Or that it may be as it once was taught
By the Samian⁴⁶ Sage of yore,
And that I may be born in another form
On that Planet's globe once more !

THE FAREWELL OF THE ROYAL JOGEE.

BY GAEKWAREE.

ARGUMENT.

Bhartrihari, brother of the celebrated Vikramāditya, whose era is still the current era of most of Hindoo India, was also a renowned king of Oojan. Owing to the discovery of the infidelity of Mungalá, one of his wives, with a certain Jogee, he abandoned the world and became an ascetic himself, making over the throne to Vikramāditya. The traditional ballads of India assert that when about to set out for the woods, Vikramāditya and Pingalá (another of his wives) attempted to dissuade him from his purpose, but in vain. The common belief is that he succeeded in eating the "Amrit-Phal" or "Fruit of Life," and consequently being immortal is wandering about India till this day, *ala* the Wandering Jew, King Arthur, Barbarossa, Thomas the Rhymer, &c.

The Hindoo or Muhumedan ascetic when addressing a woman calls her "Mae" (Mother). This, with the well-known Indian custom of "word-relationships" (Mookh bole Suggae) under which it is held disgraceful to entertain any feelings towards a woman once called "Mother" or "Sister" other than those appropriate to a son or brother, will explain one allusion in Bhartrihari's Speech to Pinglá.

⁴⁶ Pythagoras.

STAND from my path, oh brother! check me not!
 What wilt thou barter for my new-gained freedom?
 The pomp and state I lately flung from me?
 Am I not sick of it? The richest mess
 Will cloy the mouth of one who hungers not,
 And what desire have I not sated oft?
 Wealth, power, glory, from my childhood up,
 Have been attained by me without an effort
 And luxury has hung round me uncalled for.
 The luscious wine frenzy—the clasp of woman—
 The patter of mailed hosts behind their leader
 The wild breast-heave amid'st the din of victory—
 The melting love-languor of choicest music—
 Sweet cup, rich meal, soft raiment, poet's praise,
 And statesman's flattery—all these were for me.
 Sweeter than these the unchecked will of one
 Who knew no master—found no obstacle—
 And sweeter still the rapture of revenge,
 As one by one, they who but dared to dream
 Of hate to me, or mine, were all swept down.
 Until, sweetest of all, the burning rage
 Of jealousy was cooled the other night
 By the hot blood of Mangalá and her lover
 Dripping along my sabre-edge.* Away!
 Rest *thou* among the rose bowers of my gardens!
 Sit *thou* upon the golden cushioned seat,
 With all the slaves and sycophants of Oojain
 Prating their lies around thee! Listen *thou*
 To the soft songs of dancing-girls and bombast
 Of mercenary bards! And let thy tongue
 Give forth the sentence, nine times out of ten

* Bhartrihari, suspecting his wife's fidelity, watched one night instead of sleeping as usual. He saw her leave the palace, swim a river, and go to visit a Jogee who, notwithstanding her abject protestations of affection, insulted and reviled her until, bribed by sundry offerings she had brought with her, he at length complied with her wishes. Having satisfied himself of the reality of his wife's guilt, Bhartrihari broke from his concealment and cut both to pieces. Then, returning to his palace, he next morning resigned the kingdom to Vikramáditya, became himself a Jogee, and has never since been heard of.

As far from justice as is hell from heaven !
There are enough of curses on my head
Earned while I reigned, without wishing for more !
Sayest thou—'A prince should always justice deal,
And then he would be loved, and never cursed' ?
Boy thou ! thou knowest nought ! When thou hast reigned
For a short six months thou wilt find the truth !
No judge, except a prostitute in place,
(And those who sell themselves for gold are few indeed)
Aught purposes but to discharge his trust.
But lying witnesses, and cunning tales,
And all the strange phenomena of life,
Make justice hard to mete or get. The rich,
The reckless, the most skilful—these are they
Who win ; even when wrong. In every clime,
In every age, and under every form
Of government, the weakest has been crushed.
In this world is *no* justice—Even He—
The immortal Lord of all—but seldom helps
The righteous, poor and helpless, while his sword
Flames in the vanguard of the strongest host,
Ominous of triumph !* 'Tis a glorious dream
For a young king to muse o'er all the good
What he will do his people : No more crime !
No more gaunt famine ! no more foul oppression !
But all prosperity, content, and joy !
Yes ! let him try it—after a few years
Ask him *how* he has sped and *what* he thinks.
Ha ! Ha ! Ha !
And thou too, Pinglát† ! I have called the "mother"
And all is o'er between us ! Hie thee back,
And think of me until another lover

* The Cretan and Polish Insurrections, the Fenians, Mentana, Aspromonte, Puebla, Sedan, the first and second sieges of Paris and, not to mention other wars and battles further back, notably,—Copenhagen and Waterloo.

† It is to be observed that I have not come across any *written* mention of this lady, though "Mangala" is often mentioned. Oral tradition (ballads, &c.) mentions her as a wife of Bhartrihari who much opposed his abandonment of the world. As such I introduce her.

Shall make the love-flash twinkle in your eyes,
 And the hot love-breath pant from your red lips.
 Vain are thy tears, and claspings of my feet,
 And furious vowings you will die with me.
 Either thy love is false or true. If false,
 Parting will cost thee nothing. When you go,
 You will but laugh among your confidants
 At the great skill with which you played this farce.
 If true—'twould be a monstrous crime in me
 To take thee, nursed in luxury, to the jungle,
 With one whose heart has no more room for love.
 A dozen days of weeping will console thee,
 And after some few months of quiet sorrow,
 Another love will win your thoughts from Bhart'hari.
 'Tis not in human nature to live lonely
 For either man, or woman, whatso'ever.
 The foolish poets, or more foolish moralists,
 May prate of constancy, or chastity,
 Or love unchangeable. Ah! These are but dreams
 Of a perfection unattainable, vain,
 Put forth by those who rather search their brains
 For some recondite theory of love*
 As a pure faculty of Soul, instead
 Of what it is—a matter-prompted instinct
 Fed by fair forms and close companionship,
 Full diet and young blood. Nay, loose my garment!
 I tell thee I am flying to the wilds
 From thee and such as thee, and all their follies;
 And shall I carry with me half Earth's troubles
 And burdens in a woman? If thou art
 True in thy protestations, weep not for me,
 But feed my fav'rite horse with thine own hands.
 That was a faithful friend! A pleasure ever
 Without alloy, to mount his glist'ning back

* Byron's lines in "Don Juan"—

"Oh Plato, Plato! Thou hast paved the way
 By those confounded fantasies of thine," &c., &c.

And hear his snort of welcome! My Gooroo
Has told me I shall drink the Amrit-Cup,
And traverse this fair land for ever, now
Here and now there, through countless generations
And changing dynasties, but much I doubt
Whether I e'er shall feel such joy as twice
I have—when first in boyhood I rode out,
And when I slew the Jogee, Mangalá loved.
Fool! What have I with pleasure? I—
The restless heritor of deathlessness—
The Royal Incarnation of satiety?—
What but to watch in calm and listless thought
The ceaseless current of unbounded time—
The All which ends in Nothing! This it is
To which we come at last. My wife and brother,
Farewell! and be as happy as you can.
Friar Bhart'hari you never shall see more.
Back with you to the Palaces of Oojain.
And leave me to the wilds.
